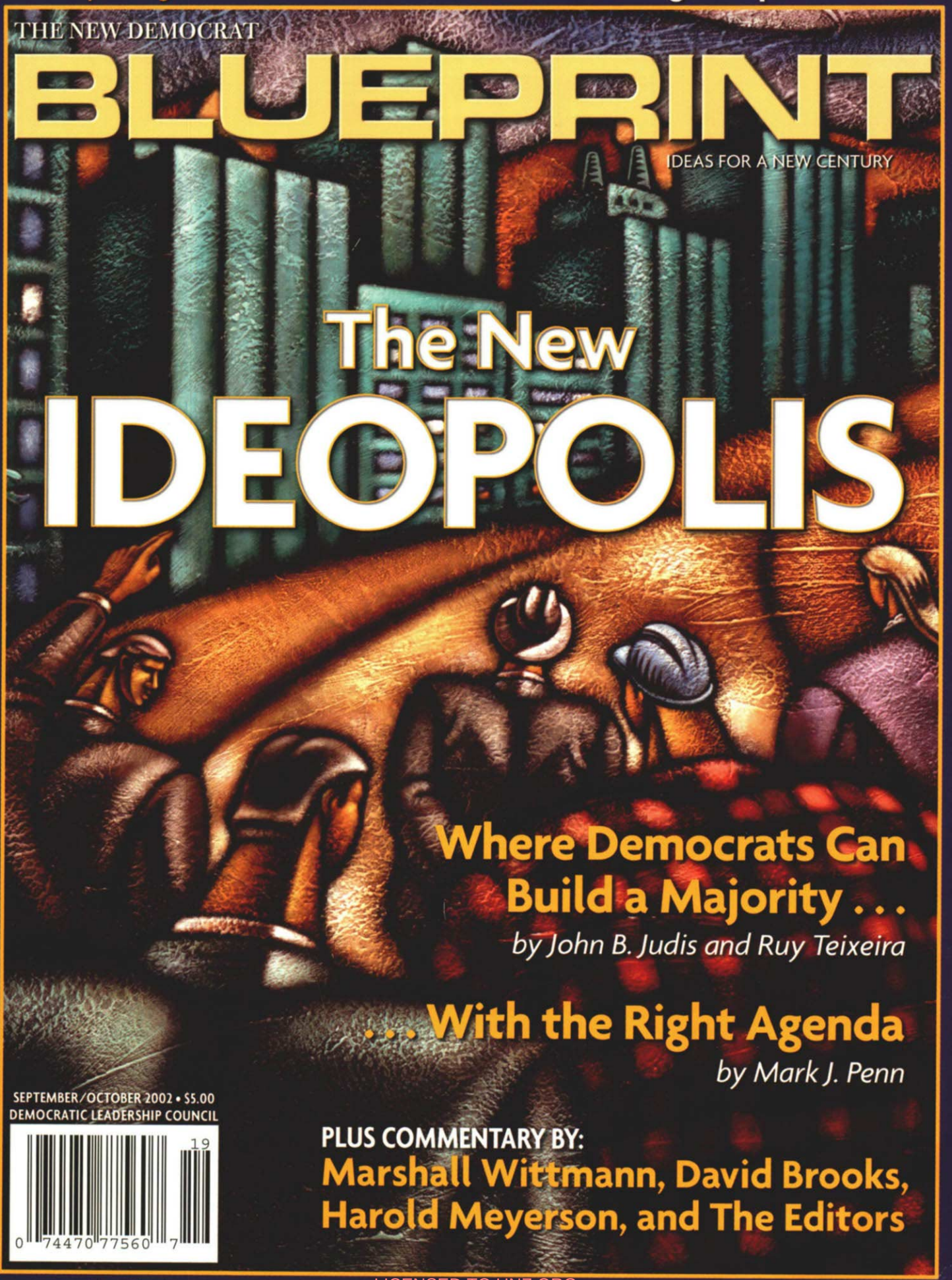
Gene Sperling on **Bushonomics** • Al From on **Letting Independents In**

THE NEW DEMOCRAT

BLUEPRINT

IDEAS FOR A NEW CENTURY



The New IDEOPOLIS

Where Democrats Can Build a Majority . . .

by John B. Judis and Ruy Teixeira

. . . With the Right Agenda

by Mark J. Penn

PLUS COMMENTARY BY:
Marshall Wittmann, David Brooks, Harold Meyerson, and The Editors

SEPTEMBER/OCTOBER 2002 • $5.00
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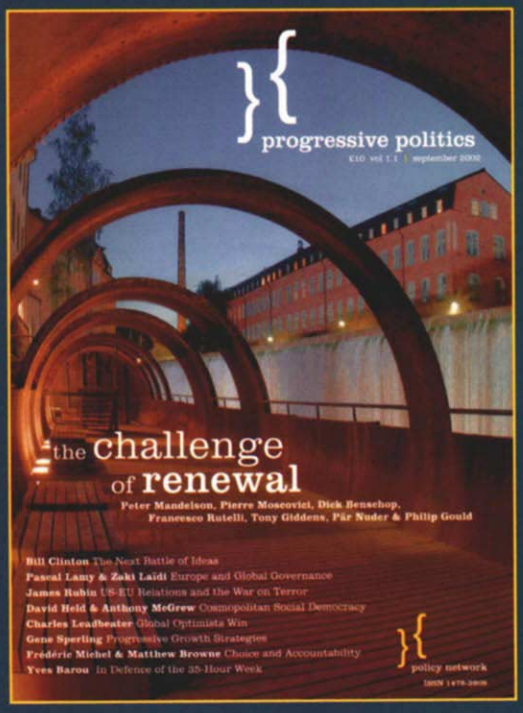
FROM LONDON...

The European Think Tank – Policy Network – launches its new international journal

Progressive Politics

Published by Peter Mandelson and launched in September 2002, *Progressive Politics* will set the new agenda for modernisers across the globe.


progressive politics
the challenge of renewal
Peter Mandelson, Pierre Moscovici, Dick Benschop, Francesco Rutelli, Tony Giddens, Pär Nuder & Philip Gould
Bill Clinton The Next Battle of Ideas
Pascal Lamy & Zaki Laidi Europe and Global Governance
James Rubin US-EU Relations and the War on Terror
David Held & Anthony McGrew Cosmopolitan Social Democracy
Charles Leadbeater Global Optimists Win
Gene Sperling Progressive Growth Strategies
Frédéric Michel & Matthew Browne Choice and Accountability
Yves Barou In Defence of the 35-Hour Week
policy network

The first issue:

the challenge of **renewal**

includes contributions by:
Gene Sperling, Dick Benschop, Philip Gould, Pascal Lamy, Peter Mandelson, Pierre Moscovici, Tony Giddens, James Rubin, David Held, Charles Leadbeater, and many more....

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THE NEW DEMOCRAT
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Guns and butter

The stakes in this fall's mid-term election couldn't be higher. A pickup of six seats would give Democrats control of the House; a pickup of one seat would give Republicans control over the Senate. The two political staples—guns and butter—are the key issues, and we look at both.

Guns or butter? Sen. John F. Kerry urges Democrats to avoid making the false choice urged by "consultants, pollsters, and strategists who argue that Democrats should be the party of domestic issues solely." He writes, "John F. Kennedy didn't try to change the subject of the debate when General Eisenhower's vice president brought up foreign policy." Columnist Will Marshall sees a similar opening for Democrats in President Bush's failure to effectively present America's case against Saddam Hussein, not because Marshall opposes toppling Saddam, but because he favors it. "By presenting the case against Iraq from the wider perspective of progressive internationalism, Democrats can put the onus back on Saddam and challenge our friends—in Europe, Russia, and the Middle East—to stop appeasing the Iraqi tyrant."

On to butter. The overriding domestic issue is certainly the troubled economy. Gene Sperling, director of the National Economic Council under President Clinton, traces the evolution of Bushonomics from their Chicken Little days of trying to talk down the economy as a way to gin up support for their tax cuts, to their present posture as cheerleaders for a comeback. Along the way the Bushies have managed to botch the successful economic policies they inherited from Clinton. In a companion article, Robert D. Atkinson argues that the Bush team's overriding problem is that its "economic ideology is a throwback to some of the most outmoded thinking of the last century."

Whether the administration recognizes it or not, America is undergoing a steady transition to a postindustrial economy. That trend is at the heart of the political analysis featured in our cover story, which is drawn from a new book, *The Emerging Democratic Majority*, by political analysts John B. Judis and Ruy Teixeira. In places where the postindustrial economy has taken hold, Judis and Teixeira find a new political geography with profound political implications. The key features of this new terrain are metropolitan areas—dubbed "ideopolises"—that have made the transition to the postindustrial economy and have been trending heavily Democratic during the last decade.

We tee up their hypothesis and let an impressive array of analysts from the left (Harold Meyerson), the right (David Brooks), and the center (Marshall Wittmann) take it on. While Judis and Teixeira document a demographic opportunity for Democrats, pollster Mark J. Penn and The Editors talk about how to take advantage of it. For Democrats to build a true majority coalition, Penn notes, they've got to get their agenda right, and should especially pay attention to the growth and opportunity-oriented views of both suburban voters and Hispanics. Ed Kilgore adds a historical note arguing that Democrats should use the rhetoric of the progressive political tradition rather than its populist first cousin.

In sum, demographics are important, but they aren't destiny. Smart leadership still counts, and ideas still matter.

—Chuck Alston

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Contributing Photographers: AP/Wide World—6, 11, 19, 22, 34, 38; Corbis—6, 10, 20, 30, 47; TimePix—33; Merlin-Net—24; Getty Images—1; Andrea Geller/Stock Illustration Source—4

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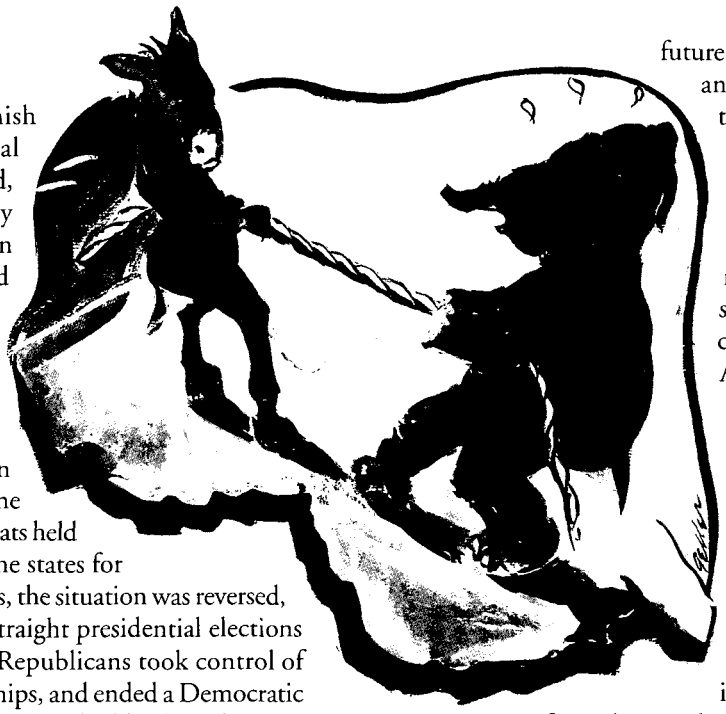
How To Earn a Majority

Demographic trends are creating Democratic opportunities. But a majority won't come automatically, or easily.

by **The Editors**



As the photo-finish 2000 presidential election illustrated, along with finely balanced partisan caucuses in the U.S. House and Senate and in state legislatures around the country, the two national political parties are at a remarkable state of parity. Arguably, this balance has existed for more than two decades. Even as Republicans held a lock on the presidency in the 1980s, Democrats held majorities in Congress and in the states for most of that period. In the 1990s, the situation was reversed, with Democrats winning two straight presidential elections by comfortable margins while Republicans took control of Congress, dominated governorships, and ended a Democratic advantage in state legislatures that reached back to the New Deal.

Throughout the last two decades, political analysts from across the political spectrum have competed with arguments about how one party or the other could break the gridlock and produce a lasting majority coalition, in line with most of U.S. political history. A variety of conservative theoreticians have repeatedly argued that the GOP breakthrough first outlined by Kevin Phillips in his 1969 masterpiece, *The Emerging Republican Majority*, had already happened or was right on the horizon. And the Democratic Leadership Council has repeatedly and with some success shown how Democrats could thwart the long-prophesied Republican ascendancy and build their own majority centrist coalition.

This issue of BLUEPRINT features an essay by political analysts John B. Judis and Ruy Teixeira—based on their new book, *The Emerging Democratic Majority*—that suggests Democrats will soon be enabled by demographic and economic changes to achieve a clear supremacy in U.S. politics for the foreseeable future. We also offer comments and dissenting views from the left, the right, and the center.

What's important about the Judis-Teixeira hypothesis is its confirmation of the long-standing New Democrat claim that the Information Age is creating an electorate that is decisively receptive to a progressive, centrist message based on economic growth, limited but activist government, internationalism, reform of big public institutions, cultural tolerance, and inclusion. What's missing from their analysis is the recognition that Democratic gains among the most important emerging electoral blocs are fragile and require a message and political strategy that reinforce the "different kind of Democratic Party" fashioned during the Clinton administration. Moreover, the Judis-Teixeira focus on voting patterns avoids the simple but critical fact that most of the suburban voters who have trended Democratic during the last decade remain political independents, with no enduring attachment to either party.

In other words, demography is not political destiny, and the ideology, message, and record of elected officials in both parties will determine whether today's trends turn into tomorrow's results. That's an important qualifier to the Judis-Teixeira analysis, which otherwise may serve to encourage Democrats to believe they can win while forgetting the political lessons of the last two decades.

In every important respect, *The Emerging Democratic Majority* vindicates the once-controversial New Democrat argument that the party needed to improve its ability to appeal

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to upscale, college-educated voters who wanted a government attuned to its appropriate role in an Information Age economy. The book's central concept of the ideopolis—an urban-suburban economic, cultural, and political bloc supporting a progressive, centrist ideology—is right out of the New Democrat playbook for overcoming old class and urban/suburban rivalries to create a political coalition focused on new national challenges.

But while Judis and Teixeira recognize that the new progressive coalition differs from the ancient New Deal coalition that traditional liberals nostalgically and perpetually believe they can resurrect, the authors are a bit disingenuous in failing to acknowledge the policy choices necessary to seal the new political deal. Many of the ideopolis voters who trended toward Democrats in the 1990s would have stayed home or stayed Republican if Democrats under Bill Clinton's leadership had failed to honor their values by a major shift in policy positions: away from the big-government ideology of public-sector jobs, defense of the welfare system, and ever-expanding regulations and bureaucracy, and toward a new progressive agenda of private-sector growth, fiscal discipline, optimism about economic globalization, and support for technology, innovation, education reform, and lifelong learning.

While most ideopolis voters stuck with Al Gore in 2000 despite his reluctance to champion the very economic record that drew them to the Democratic Party in the first place, it's not at all clear these voters will remain Democratic absent this record, especially if party candidates return to the business-bashing, anti-trade-and-technology message of the past. A recent Judis-Teixeira article in another publication claims that upscale professionals are actually "populists" in their economic outlook. That wishful belief in the unconditional attachment of these voters to the Democratic Party could reverse the positive trends of the 1990s.

Judis and Teixeira also place a lot of emphasis on a continued "gender gap" driving women into the Democratic Party and on the continued growth of pro-Democratic minority groups. Again, these trends are important, but hardly fixed. Al Gore lost the votes of white women in 2000. Every "gender gap" has two sides, and persistent Democratic weakness among white men is as troublesome as gains among women are heartening. And while African-American voters increased their already overwhelming Democratic margins in 2000, Democrats have nowhere to go but down in this, and every other category, of minority voters. Al Gore's margin among Hispanics dropped significantly from Bill Clinton's in 1996, and with Republicans having abandoned their anti-immigration talk of the 1990s, a persistent Democratic advantage can no longer be taken for granted.

Clearly, to achieve the majority status these analysts project, Democrats must continue to work hard—harder than in 1996 and 2000, since Democrats can no longer benefit from an astonishingly successful incumbent national administration—to put together a coalition that combines the Democratic base with the swing voters that trended Democratic during the 1990s.

With polls showing the return of many pre-Clinton perceptions of Democrats as weak or unreliable in managing the economy, practicing fiscal discipline, fighting crime, holding the line on taxes, and maintaining a strong national defense, it would be highly imprudent to assume that swing voters in every ideopolis will vote for future Democrats at the same rates as they voted for Bill Clinton and Al Gore. Fortunately, Democrats have a fresh chance to re-establish their credibility on a wide range of issues, thanks to the growing problems of the Bush administration in dealing with the economic slowdown, budget deficits, corporate misconduct, energy and environmental problems, rising health care costs, and even homeland security and the fight against terrorism. But they must move aggressively to do so, not simply counting on Republican mistakes but responding with a comprehensive, progressive, centrist agenda of their own that's just as bold as the one Bill Clinton and Al Gore embraced in 1992.

Aside from re-establishing their pro-growth and pro-reform credentials, Democrats would also be wise to address an avoidable Republican advantage on cultural issues, which were key to GOP gains in non-ideopolis states in 2000. As we have argued on many occasions, Democrats can project a message of "values centrism" that respects the views of regular churchgoers, gun owners, and people generally worried about declining moral standards, without at all abandoning their commitment to a tolerant and inclusive society. Moreover, the same reformist, anti-bureaucratic message that appeals to upscale ideopolis voters also reassures socially conservative voters that Democrats do not favor Big Government over the institutions of civil society.

Finally, Democrats cannot make the mistake of assuming that the other party will not make its own adjustment to the changing demographics outlined by Judis and Teixeira.

BLUEPRINT cover packag on the **Ne** **Ideopolis** begi on page 1

To be sure, it's clear that George W. Bush's claim to espouse a different, "compassionate" brand of conservatism is mostly smoke, mirrors, and marketing. But his political team is smart, mean, and fearless, as evidenced by the administration's willingness to abandon free market principles in an effort to nail down votes among steelworkers and farmers.

The bottom line is that Democrats will have to earn the majority prophesied by Judis and Teixeira. The advent of the ideopolis clearly creates a tailor-made constituency for a smart and successful New Democrat party that understands the Information Age economy and society and is willing to offer an agenda designed to meet the national and international challenges of the 21st century. But this constituency will not respond to any old jackass with the donkey label. Democrats must offer the country their best ideas, and their best leaders, to make the best of this political opportunity. ◆

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Produced by **Kate Herman**

Security begins at home

Local officials call for national drive to meet the homeland security challenge.

With Washington self-absorbed in a turf-fight smackdown over the reorganization of federal agencies into a new cabinet-level Department of Homeland Security, forgive us for noting once more that the front-line troops of domestic defense—police officers, firefighters, and health care providers, among others—are actually employed by state and local governments. The Bush administration has been notably slow in figuring out how to get resources to these "first responders."

A CALL TO ACTION: Detroit Mayor Kwame Kilpatrick, Baltimore Mayor Martin O'Malley, and King County, Wash., Executive Ron Sims shared security strategies at the National Conversation.

To spotlight the local aspect of homeland security, the DLC invited Detroit Mayor Kwame Kilpatrick, Baltimore Mayor Martin O'Malley, and King County, Wash., Executive Ron Sims to address the topic at its National Conversation in New York City. The panel was moderated by Progressive Policy Institute President Will Marshall.

extras New Democrats Online NDOL.org Search: Extra Security

Kilpatrick talked about the special problems posed by Detroit's international border with Canada and his decision to create his own local homeland security strategy, based on recommendations from PPI. "In Detroit we have created an alliance with the counties around us, with Canada, and with the Canadian province of Ontario, which now makes us international partners in the war against terrorism," Kilpatrick said.

O'Malley laid out seven steps every local government should take to improve its preparedness for terrorist attacks and argued for an urgent effort to overcome the federal-state bureaucratic barriers to get help immediately to first responders. "We have a responsibility to reshape the dysfunctional federal, state, and local relationship," he said. "It's not serving us well, it's failing us. And in the meantime, terrorists are here, and they're trying to kill us."

Sims discussed the special problems of security in transportation systems and echoed O'Malley's call for an entirely different way of thinking about different levels of government in metropolitan areas. "We're in a metropolitan age in the 21st century, and we need to abandon 20th century terms defining ourselves politically or operationally," Sims said.

Marshall summed up the panel by observing that in homeland security, "We've got to work out an intelligent division of labor between what Washington does, and the cities and counties do, and the regions do. So we're about to embark on a tremendous adventure in federalism." ◆

PLAYbook

A menu of ideas for state and local elected officials.

Fighting Medical Inflation by Reducing Poor Quality Care

NEW DEM PLAY || Cutting medical costs by collaborating to improve health care quality

WHERE IT'S WORKING || California, Florida, and many Midwestern states

PLAYERS || State and local officials

With rapidly escalating health care costs, state and local governments face tough budget choices. New Democrats must modernize programs to get more value from current health care spending.

Through the leadership of the Midwest Business Group on Health, both private and public employers in 11 states have charted a new course for purchasing health care. The group estimates that poor-quality care accounts for 30 percent of all direct health care outlays today.

To improve the quality of care, they suggest people:

- Analyze health care data to identify high-priority problems.
- Measure the performance of plans and providers, engaging them in improvement programs.
- Share performance information with employees, beneficiaries, and the public at large.
- Reward high-quality providers through public recognition, shared-savings contracts, and other incentives.

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A [illegible] with...

Martha Coakley >> on prosecuting crime

As the district attorney of Middlesex County, Mass., Martha Coakley represents one quarter of the state's population, including the Boston metropolitan area. Her district's 54 cities and towns all have their own laws and police departments, and working with them all requires a progressive approach. With a reputation as a tough prosecutor, Coakley relies on both prevention and punishment—with solid results. She talked to BLUEPRINT *about her crime-fighting techniques.*

BP > What challenges do you face in prosecuting criminals in Middlesex County?

MC: Budget cuts are on everyone's minds lately, and trying to provide adequate services with a very limited budget is a real challenge. The assistant district attorney position here is a great job that starts at $35,000 a year, but a lot of people just out of law school cannot afford to take a job in the public sector.

BP > Some people think of crime as a "Republican issue." How do you respond to that?

MC: I think this has been a real concern among some of us Democratic district attorneys. In a state like Massachusetts that's known for its very liberal policies, some of us sitting as district attorneys feel that law enforcement, as a priority, gets back-burnered. My response to that is that public safety should be a bipartisan issue. It is one that is funded and talked about by both parties and the public at large, and many issues are complex—such as locking people up versus putting money into rehabilitation programs.

I am a big advocate of understanding the crime and knowing that one size for punishment does not fit all. What is the difference between someone who abuses his wife or one who robs a bank or one who is addicted to drugs? The behavior and history behind these crimes varies quite a bit.

There are clearly people for whom a life of crime is easier, and if they are a danger to society, they probably should be locked up for a long while. But with others, that may not be the best or most cost-effective answer. I think we have to understand the crime and then use our dollars accordingly.

BP > How do you balance the demands of Democrats and Republicans in Massachusetts?

MC: I have an obligation as a Democrat to address the concerns of the party, but my primary obligation is to keep people safe. Prevention is sometimes appropriate, prosecution and punishment is sometimes appropriate. But we have to see what the impact of any potential policy is on our whole community before implementing it.

Massachusetts has one foot in the 21st century and one foot in the 18th. Some of our old statutes and notions can get in the way of more progressive policies that we need to address our current problems.

BP > How have you handled juvenile delinquency in Middlesex County?

MC: We're not looking to charge more kids; we're looking to help more kids before they get into trouble. We've expanded our truancy roundtables, where failure to come to school is a clear red flag that there is a bigger problem. If you look at crime statistics, you'll see that before they committed that crime, there were certain patterns in place—they weren't going to school, they weren't getting support.

Also, post-9/11, we're developing a set of materials called "Participating in Democracy." It is aimed at the middle school group and is something teachers can use to bring back the civics notion that I think has really been neglected in the past 30 years. If this works, people are going to live in safer communities, I think.

MARTHA COAKLEY's moderate approach to prosecution blends historic traditions with progressive policies.

BP > You are known as an advocate of prevention programs. Why are they a critical part of fighting crime?

MC: You never know what you prevent. It's hard to measure the success of prevention programs. But it's hard to argue with common sense if you look at the patterns of people who are already imprisoned for crimes they've committed.

I think if we are ever going to go beyond what I call the 1950s mentality—police arrest people, we convict them, they never get out of jail—it means working with communities to understand where these crimes come from. Some crimes are not preventable, and I don't think I'm a Pollyanna about it. But it's important to work with doctors, social workers, people in other disciplines ... and try to come up with something in public safety to address what we know to be potential problems. ◆

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Blanche Lincoln

A progressive prescription for drug coverage plans.

Earlier this year, Sen. Blanche Lincoln of Arkansas received a letter from an 18-year-old constituent pleading for improved health care for seniors. Her motivation for writing? Three aging grandparents "struggling just to make ends meet trying to survive on Social Security."

"[My grandmother] does without some necessary medications sometimes because she simply runs out of the medicine before 'payday' comes around," the letter read. "This causes her health problems that she cannot help or afford, but she does what she has to."

Representing a state where 433,000 constituents rely on Medicare, Lincoln has made prescription drug plans a primary focus of her work on the Senate Finance Committee. She hopes to hold her colleagues' feet to the fire this fall in reaching a bipartisan compromise to benefit the people Lincoln calls "the sickest and neediest among us."

"The simple fact is that Medicare hasn't kept pace with the latest developments in modern medicine," she says. "When Medicare was created in 1965, prescription drugs didn't play the integral role in health care that they play today. It's time to update the program to reflect the new reality."

That reality is present in countless stories Lincoln hears from her constituents. Many come not from the seniors themselves, but from their relatives—mainly the so-called "sandwich generation," those taking care of their children while at the same time starting to care for their elderly parents. A predominantly rural state, Arkansas has a higher percentage than the national average of people living in poverty, including about 50 percent of its senior citizens.

> When Medicare was created in 1965, prescription drugs didn't play the integral role in health care that they play today. It's time to update the program to reflect the new reality. —*Sen. Blanche Lincoln*

Lincoln was frustrated this past July when the Senate rejected three prescription drug plans. Passage was stymied by differing views on how much to spend and whether to use government or private-industry services to deliver prescription drugs. But over the next few months, Lincoln hopes to finalize a bipartisan plan in the finance committee to give it a more realistic chance of being approved by the full Senate.

"Many of my colleagues talk about how much they want to develop a prescription drug coverage plan, but then they don't want to pay for it," says Lincoln, who has said Republicans favor capping costs at $300 billion, though some plans have soared to $900 billion.

Her own proposal—which didn't make it through the Senate in July—would cost roughly $400 billion over 10 years. It would cap drug expenses for Medicare enrollees at $4,000, and it would cover all costs for individuals with incomes below $17,720—200 percent of the federal poverty level.

Lincoln, who worked with Sen. Jeff Bingaman (D-N.M.) on the moderate bill, said several committee meetings in July and August left her optimistic about the passage of a prescription drug plan this fall. "The legislation doesn't need to be a work of art, but a work in progress," Lincoln says. ●

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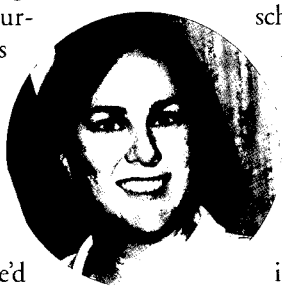
Caprice Young

Creative problem solving is not only part of the curriculum in the Los Angeles Unified School District—it's how school board President Caprice Young has approached the space issues plaguing the overcrowded district.



Caprice Young
President, Los Angeles Unified School District

"People never thought we'd actually use eminent domain to get the space we needed," Young says of the time-consuming and often-complicated process of condemning privately owned land to build school property. "But that was just a start."

Early on, she learned that the district's facilities director—responsible for up to 6,000 repair and renovation projects simultaneously—was a physical education instructor. After hiring a fulltime professional staff with backgrounds in facilities management, the board began an aggressive campaign to secure $3.35 billion in funding to build 80 new schools and repair scores more. A bond initiative will be on the ballot this November, says Young, who scouted out several sites that will soon house new schools.

"We have selected sites with heavy community involvement, sites that may once have been a prime gang hangout but where residents are saying, 'No more,'" she says.

The district has reduced the standard 40-acre lots for high schools to 11 acres, building 4- and 5-story schools instead of sprawling lower structures. Using similar architectural designs for its new buildings, the district has shortened its acquisition and approval process from 18 months to just three.

"Everything is a lot more streamlined, but with room for flexibility," she says. ◆

Eddie Perez

When the homicide tally in Hartford, Conn., hit 15 this spring—well on its way to surpassing last year's alarming death rate—officials became determined to put a stop to the street violence. Mayor Eddie Perez convened two task forces to address the issue, with remarkable results.

"We have seen a drop in overall crime citywide," he says. "And already, we've had a 20 percent to 30 percent increase in property values in the city, which shows people are feeling good about it."

Eddie Perez
Mayor, Hartford, Conn.

He describes one as a "tough-on-crime" task force; it consists of police officers and other law enforcement officials. The second is a community-based task force composed of religious, civic, community, and business leaders who work on the distinct issues that contribute to crime in the city's neighborhoods.

"We've had talent shows and basketball tournaments, but we've also had community-wide discussions on gun violence and zero-tolerance policies," says Perez.

Perez's approach relies heavily on faith-based groups to influence their members. And in areas where groups such as the NAACP already have established a working relationship with a given parish, Perez says, churches collaborate with other civic organizations to define and solve community problems.

In the program's first few months, volunteers have monitored "nuisances" such as noise and parking violations, provided general surveillance to support police efforts, and used a tipline to report concerns, Perez says. Eventually, he expects a fully trained, volunteer-based citizen patrol will walk the streets of Hartford, reminding people about the dangers of gun violence and other crimes. ◆

Greg Stanton

One piece of property, two competing uses: Build a new professional football stadium or a medical research facility? That call for Phoenix's economic future fell in part this past spring to Phoenix City Councilman Greg Stanton, chair of the council's education, youth, and arts subcommittee.

The call? The council gave the nod to a pioneering research institute that Stanton says will bring high-paying jobs and highly skilled workers to the city center. The Translational Genomics Research Institute—an independent agency funded in part by the city, county, state, and private sector—will use gene-based methodology to test cures for illnesses such as cancer, diabetes, and heart disease. The center will help diversify the economy of the nation's sixth-largest city, which relies heavily on tourism, Stanton says.

Greg Stan
City Council Phoenix, Ari

"This really is worthwhile research that will benefit not only the people of Phoenix but people around the world," says New Democrat Stanton. "Phoenix is growing, but we wanted good quality growth—this is it."

The other option for the site was a new football stadium for the Arizona Cardinals, the only team in the NFL that still plays on a college field. Stanton and others considered the long-term payoffs of both options and made what he calls a "forward-thinking" decision.

"There is already talk of other companies looking to relocate here because they want to be closer to this research institute," Stanton says. Local colleges and universities also stand to benefit as well, he says.

The institute will be headed by Dr. Jeffrey Trent, an Arizona native who led the human genome research project at the National Institutes of Health. Biomedicine has created 400,000 new jobs and attracts about $20 billion annually in federal funding, Stanton says. ◆

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Books

No Free Lunch: One Man's Journey from Welfare to the American Dream *by Rodney J. Carroll, with Gary Karton* • One World Books • 283 pp. • $23.00

Rodney J. Carroll's inspiring memoir, *No Free Lunch: One Man's Journey from Welfare to the American Dream*, holds lessons for all sides of the welfare policy debate. He celebrates welfare recipients' potential for success but doesn't gloss over the fact that they may often need a helping hand from government and the private sector to enter and remain in the workforce.

Carroll, the president and CEO of the nonprofit Welfare to Work Partnership, tells the story of his struggle to lift himself from a childhood in North Philadelphia that was marked by street violence, poverty, neglect, and low expectations. His grandmother, who raised Carroll and his two siblings, stressed the dignity of work and the importance of education. He excelled in school, but his dream of becoming a scientist foundered when a school counselor told him that students "from [his] background"—poor and black—had no chance of going to college.

After high school, Carroll got a job at United Parcel Service where, with his work ethic and knack for creating useful innovations, he received several promotions. Remembering his grandmother's frequent admonitions to serve others, he risked his prominent position at UPS—as a division manager supervising 4,000 employees—to start a controversial program to hire welfare recipients. His own experience of the difficulties of welfare enabled him to design the program creatively, chartering buses for those without transportation, providing mentors, and offering encouragement and support, and he was soon tapped to lead the Welfare to Work Partnership full-time.

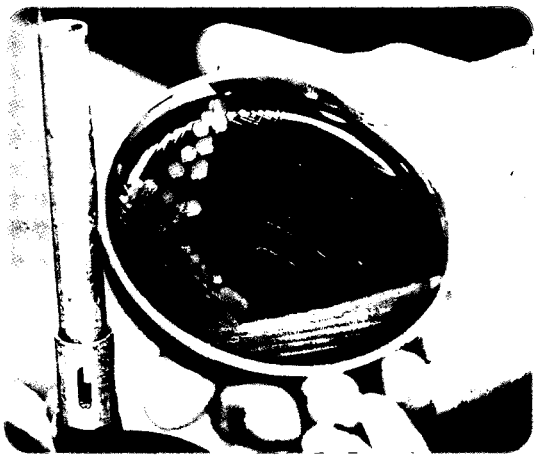
Where to get it: www.welfaretowork.org and major online booksellers

—Kevin Croke

of the

Every Friday on NDOL.org

Coordinated Medical Response To Terrorism



As the federal government labors towards a national strategy and structure for homeland security, many states and localities continue to wait for guidance and resources from Washington. But others are moving ahead in areas under their direct control. Detroit Mayor Kwame Kilpatrick's local homeland security strategy is one example we've drawn attention to. Another is in Denver, where Mayor Wellington Webb has pioneered a metro area initiative to prepare for the public health emergency that could accompany a major terrorist attack, especially one associated with biological or chemical agents.

The centerpiece of Webb's initiative was the establishment last November of the Denver Center for the Medical Response to Terrorism, Mass Casualties, and Epidemics. The new center was created in conjunction with Denver Health, a public healthcare provider with hospitals, clinics, and other medical resources throughout the Denver area. The center's mission is to develop and continuously update a public health crisis response plan in collaboration with all of the region's health care providers. Its ongoing program has included:

Assessment of the areas of expertise of physicians and health facilities so victims of a terrorist emergency can be directed to the best possible providers of care.

Regular meetings between personnel from Denver's Office of Emergency Management, the fire and police departments, hospitals, and public health departments.

A systematic plan to eliminate incompatibilities in various agencies' information technology and communications systems, developing common standards and investing in a common communications infrastructure, including "redundancies" so that constant exchange of information can continue if one system is down.

Development of an online Bioterrorism Advanced Readiness Course for use both by health care professionals and citizens.

Preparation and distribution by one of the center's collaborators, the Rocky Mountain Poison Center, of information sheets on anthrax and other chemical and biological agents, supplemented by a mini-course for health care professionals on terrorism and toxicology.

Simulations and other exercises to test readiness for a public health emergency.

A hallmark of the Denver initiative is to work within the existing public health system to build and expand capacity for dealing with terrorism-related emergencies instead of creating a separate structure that could create confusion or divert resources from ongoing public health concerns. We think that's smart. Effective homeland security is not an alternative to protecting Americans against everyday public health challenges or everyday crime, but simply a reflection of the fundamental responsibility of government to promote public health and safety, come what may. ◆

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THE INDEX

by **BRUCE REED**

A Diary of the Progressive Opposition

>> BACKtoSCHOOL

Economy ⇩ Inspired by Ted Williams' cryogenics, Republicans adopt cryonomics: putting economy on ice in hopes that generations from now, someone in their party will figure out how to bring it back to life.

Debt clock goes back up in Times Square. Deficit spending takes a licking, but keeps on ticking.

Budget Deficit ⇧

Social Security ⇩ Market plunge forces Republicans to pull plug on privatization. Consolation for conservatives: Now Bush has a second-term agenda. Consolation for Democrats: If that's his agenda, there won't be a second term.

War on Terrorism ⇔ *Time Magazine* reveals that in 2001, Bush shelved Clinton plan to combat al Qaeda. Bush White House says it had to choose between going after bin Laden or Clinton staff for stealing Ws.

Changing the Tone ⇩ Karl Rove and Grover Norquist make K Street one-way, lean on companies to hire Republican lobbyists. The bigger problem: companies that hire Republican accountants.

Summer Reruns ⇧ Bush holds economic forum to seek advice from Fortune's Greediest 25. Republicans restore old notion of diversity: Leave no country club behind.

Daytime TV ⇧ CBS courts Clinton for daytime talk show. Imagine: a president allowed to talk while the markets are open.

Moderation ⇧ **Bob Barr** and Cynthia McKinney lose by big margins. Georgia voters say the era of big mouths is over.

Trade ⇧ Breakthrough on fast track; double backtrack on steel. White House to West Virginia: Just kidding about those bariffs and terriers.

Prescription Drugs ⇩ Republicans block New Democrat compromise, so another year goes by without **prescription drug** coverage. Seniors to Washington: We should live so long!

INTERNET TOOLS >>

The Communitarian Network

Led by founder Amitai Etzioni, this group promotes policies that attempt to balance individual rights and social responsibilities. Its Web site includes the platform of the communitarian movement in addition to articles from *The Responsive Community*, an academic journal of political philosophy.

Where to get it: www.gwu.edu/~ccps/

Independent Sector

This group's Web site supports the nonprofit world, with in-depth reports and survey data, to aid those studying civic engagement and volunteerism. The site also provides a guide to legislative issues affecting nongovernmental organizations and foundations.

Where to get it: www.independentsector.org

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by **Sen. Tom Carper**

UNITED HOMEFRONT: San Jose Mayor Ron Gonzales, right, has helped create practical homebuying options for the area's public school teachers.

Teachers taking ownership

Tight housing markets can yield teacher shortages, but some areas have found ways to ease both.

It takes little more than common sense to realize that good teachers are a key ingredient in a good education. But as a new school year gets underway, it never hurts to be reminded of this fact, and recent research underscores just how important teachers are. Renowned experts in educational research, such as Eric A. Hanushek and William L. Sanders, have found that teacher quality may be the single most important factor determining how much children learn. Unfortunately, they have also found that schools with lots of at-risk children have the hardest time retaining high quality teachers.

There are many reasons why this is true. But one main impediment that many schools face, particularly in urban areas, is the lack of appropriate or affordable housing for teachers in the vicinity. Increasingly, poor urban communities with struggling schools are located next to gentrifying neighborhoods with skyrocketing housing costs. The simple reality is that good teachers may be hesitant to locate in the middle of the poorest neighborhoods, but they cannot afford to live in nearby communities priced beyond their reach, either.

The housing problem and the teacher shortage it exacerbates is not limited to poor schools. It is also an issue in upscale communities like San Jose, Calif.

To make housing more affordable for teachers, a number of cities and states, as well as the federal government, have developed various types of housing loans and grants to encourage teachers to locate in particular areas. The states of California, Connecticut, and Mississippi and the cities of Baltimore and Los Angeles have all been pioneers in this area. One of the most successful initiatives is San Jose's Teacher Homebuyer Program (THP).

Located in the heart of Silicon Valley, San Jose faces a difficult challenge in attracting teachers because its housing prices are among the highest in the country. THP provides a deferred payment loan of up to $40,000 to teachers seeking to purchase a home. The homebuyer, who pays no interest for 30 years, must use private lenders and other sources to cover the rest. THP also offers rehabilitation financing for the purchase of "fixer-uppers"; incentives of up to 3 percent of the home price to realtors who broker sales, with the selling realtor earning a share as well; and incentives of up to 1 percent of the mortgage for lenders who finance purchases. San Jose also has just recently launched a new program that provides up to $40,000 of five-year deferred second mortgage financing. So far, THP has help more than 100 teachers buy homes.

The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development's "Teacher Next Door" program enables teachers to purchase HUD-owned homes in designated revitalization areas at discounts of 50 percent, with low down payments. Buyers must live in the district where they teach, and they have to maintain their principal residence there for at least three years. This program can be an enormous boon to both teachers and schools, though good management and strict enforcement of the residency requirements are essential to ensure that it accomplishes its objectives.

The standards-based school reform contemplated by the new Elementary and Secondary Education Act won't happen unless schools can hire and retain good teachers. For any community that is having trouble attracting and holding on to good teachers because of housing issues, the approaches I've outlined here may offer an answer, or at least a model they can copy. America's children deserve the best teachers we can provide, and these teachers deserve decent places to live. ◆

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Sen. Tom Carper (D-Del.) is the DLC Chair for Best Practices. In future issues of BLUEPRINT, *he will highlight successful policy initiatives from New Democrat leaders across the country.*

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Balance on the bench

Friends, New Democrats, and moderates everywhere, lend me your ears. I come to praise President Bush ... and to criticize him.

In the past year, I have worked hard to make ideology an explicit part of the judicial confirmation process. Simply put, I believe it is time we stop playing gotcha politics—looking for petty personal peccadilloes to disqualify a candidate—and start admitting that the substantive viewpoint of judicial nominees legitimately drives us to oppose certain candidates for the bench.

President Bush understands this and seems to agree. During the campaign, he told us he would pick judges in the mold of Supreme Court Justices Scalia and Thomas. Since he took office, both President Bush and Karl Rove have repeatedly boasted of their determination to nominate ideological conservatives for the bench, and they have called on the Senate to confirm them as accurate reflections of the administration's right-tilting judicial philosophy.

So I praise the administration for honesty when it comes to ideology. But I criticize the administration for execution. Saying that ideology should be an explicit part of the process does not mean that ideology should be a litmus test. And, by and large, this administration is requiring its nominees to toe an ideological line much farther to the right than that demanded by past Republican presidents.

As those who have followed the last year's confirmation battles know, I have three simple standards for federal judges: excellence, moderation, and diversity.

Excellence simply means they should be among the best the bar has to offer. I do not think that is a controversial proposition.

Diversity means that in the selection of federal judges we should seek racial, ethnic, gender, and experiential diversity to ensure that the federal bench is as reflective of America as possible. I do not think that is a very controversial notion either.

Moderation seems to be the sticking point these days. I, personally, look for moderate judges. I do not like judges to be too far left or right. And while I would rather our judges share views with the mainstream of the American people, I have no problem voting in favor of right-wing nominees when there is balance on the other side.

But on many of our courts, there is no balance. The Fifth Circuit, for example, is one of the most conservative courts in the country. President Clinton nominated three eminently qualified moderates to that court and none of them even got so much as a hearing, much less a vote, in the Republican-controlled Senate Judiciary Committee.

The Bush administration, by contrast, does not seem to care about balance on the courts.

The president is following through on his promise to nominate judges in the mold of Justices Scalia and Thomas. One or two Scalias or Thomases is one thing. But a bench full of them would drive our courts way out of whack. And that is unacceptable. My ideal court would have a Scalia balanced by a Marshall—a Thomas balanced by a Brennan. Nine Scalias—or even five—is a frightening prospect. Nonetheless, that kind of court-packing is precisely what the administration is trying to achieve on the lower courts. Our country is divided ideologically. The last presidential election was as close as they come. Both houses of Congress have narrow majorities, and control is split between the parties. There is clearly no mandate from the American people to stock the courts with conservative ideologues. So if the White House persists in sending up nominees who threaten to throw the courts out of whack with the country, Democrats have no choice but to vote "no."

This is especially the case in an era when the courts are deliberately implementing a conservative agenda through judicial activism from the right. It does not take much to connect the dots here. The conservative movement, realizing it has lost most of its major legislative battles, understands that judges hold the key to rolling back Democratic victories. Over the past few years, laws protecting women, children, senior citizens, the disabled, and the environment have been struck down by the courts at an unprecedented rate.

If John Ashcroft and Karl Rove have their way, that trend will be aided and abetted by the Federalist Society judges with whom they are trying to stack the courts. The administration is willing to take some casualties in this fight. They are sending up waves of Scalias and Thomases. If a couple of controversial nominees get shot down, it is a small price to pay because by sheer weight of number they can still succeed by stacking the courts. It is a bad strategy, both for the courts and for the American people, and Democrats have an obligation to insist on a different, more mainstream course for our judiciary. ◆

Sen. Charles E. Schumer (D-N.Y.) is a member of the Judiciary Committee.

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America's Changing Political Geography

Welcome to the ideopolis. These fast growing metropolitan areas with postindustrial economies are the breeding ground for a new Democratic majority.

Where Democrats Can Build a Majority...

by **John B. Judis** *and* **Ruy Teixeira**

AFTER THE 2000 ELECTION, political commentators began referring to the Democrats as the "blues" and the Republicans as the "reds"—terms corresponding to the colors used on electoral maps to denote which states each party's presidential ticket carried. So the question of America's political future has become: Who will dominate, the blues or the reds?

The Republicans think it'll be the reds. They look at the 2000 electoral map and see good things. For one thing, there's more red than blue, reflecting the fact that Republican states tend to be physically larger. More important, they figure that if they just hold the states they carried in 2000—which basically means the Solid South, the Mountain States, the Border States, and the more conservative

Continued on page 18

John B. Judis is a senior editor of *The New Republic*. **Ruy Teixeira** is a senior fellow at the Century Foundation.

...But Only With the Right Agenda

by **Mark J. Penn**

AMERICA IS UNDERGOING profound lifestyle and demographic changes—the kind that materially affect voters' outlook and potentially the nation's political alignment. These changes represent an opportunity for Democrats, but not a fixed destiny. As the electorate changes, the party that does not change accordingly will fail to connect with the most dynamic elements in the electorate.

As John Judis and Ruy Teixeira show in their optimistically titled book, *The Emerging Democratic Majority*, Democrats made great gains in dynamic elements of the electorate during the 1990s, most notably in upscale suburban families and Hispanics. But these gains are already in danger of receding. Republicans are making substantial inroads among Hispanic voters by appealing to their strong entre

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Mark J. Penn is president of Penn, Schoen and Berland Associates Inc. and was pollster to President Clinton. Research and polling assistance provided by **Pete Brodnitz**.

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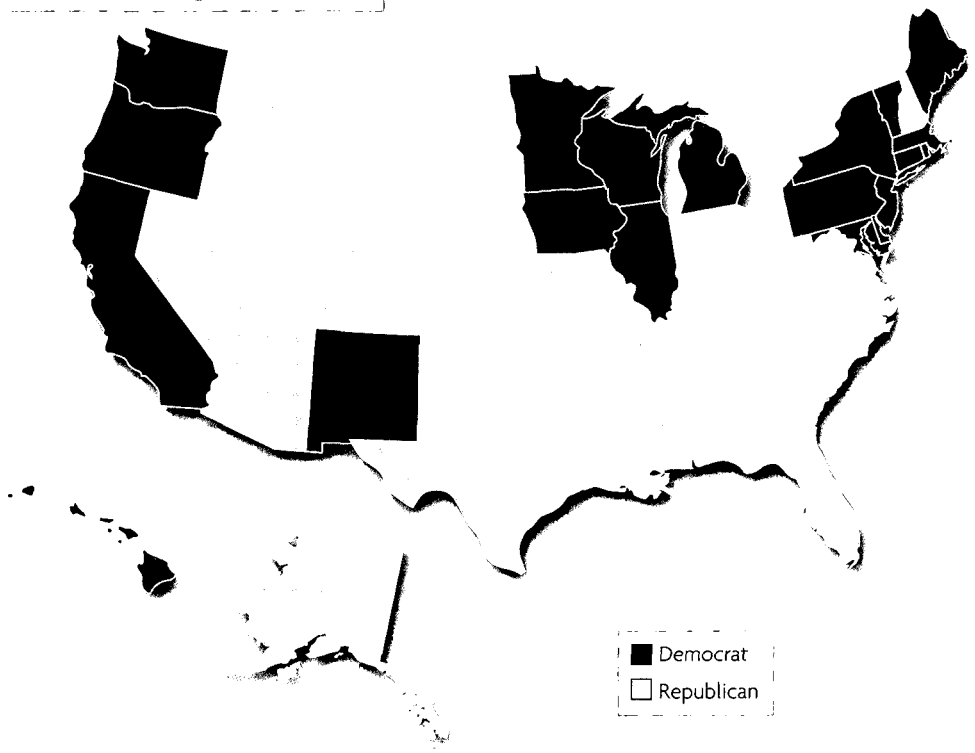
How the **ELECTORAL MAP** could change

▶ 2000 Electoral College Results



▶ The Look of Things to Come?

POTENTIAL PICKUPS: Judis and Teixeira say Democrats could enjoy a new base of 332 electoral votes by 2008. Penn says it can be done only with a strong progressive message and a bold national strategy.

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THE RIGHT AGENDA,
continued from page 14

preneurial spirit. And while Democrats were successful during the 1990s at increasing their appeal among suburban women, their appeal among suburban men is notably weaker and shows signs of becoming weaker still.

Moreover, by looking only at voting trends rather than at party identification, Judis and Teixeira inherently overstate the durability of Democratic gains. The overriding reality of politics today is that Americans are increasingly not members of any party. Self-described Independents are 37 percent of the American electorate and these voters, not the party faithful, decide who wins America's elections. Between 1950 and 2001, Democratic Party identification fell from 47 percent to 38 percent, while the number of self-described Independents rose from 25 percent to 37 percent (Republican identification has been more stable—it was 28 percent in 1950 and 26 percent in 2001). With "no party" becoming the plurality party, Democrats must earn a majority in each election and can only build a majority by gaining voter loyalty among emerging segments of the electorate over time.

For Democrats to build a true majority coalition, they must develop a message and policy agenda that consolidates earlier gains among suburban women and minority voters while capturing a much larger percentage of suburban men—all in a politically sensitive context of changing issue priorities, ever-greater voter independence, and aggressive competition from Republicans.

The key to the development of this successful message and policy agenda is to understand the two big cross-cutting changes under way in American society—and their political implications. The first is the country's growing diversity, which is generating a equally impressive growth in social tolerance; the second is the dramatic spread of higher education and affluence.

Rapidly increasing national diversity is driven by immigration and birth rates. Between the 1990 and 2000 census, the African-American portion of the population remained steady at just over 12 percent of all Americans while the Hispanic population grew from 9 percent to 12.5 percent. By 2050, the Hispanic population is expected to reach 24 percent of all Americans and by that year the Census Bureau estimates that Asian-Americans, who were 3.6 percent of Americans in the 2000 census, will represent 9 percent of all Americans.

With the rise in diversity has come a rise in tolerance. Seven in 10 Americans (70 percent) believe there should be harsher penalties for "crimes motivated by hate of certain groups," while just 25 percent oppose such as law.

Today, 51 percent of Americans say they feel that homosexuality should be considered an acceptable alternative lifestyle. This is a dramatic increase from 34 percent in 1977. Similarly, while 56 percent of Americans in 1977 said that homosexuals should have equal rights in terms of job opportunities (33 percent opposed), by 2002 the number had risen to 86 percent (11 percent opposed). And it's no accident that the religious right is rapidly declining in political importance. Increasingly, Americans are gravitating toward leaders who unite Americans—not toward those who divide them along demographic or cultural lines.

The second big trend is the spread of higher education and affluence and a corresponding increase in voters who demand a government that is focused on creating private-sector economic opportunity.

In the past two decades alone, there has been a dramatic rise in college entrance and graduation, which in turn produces higher income. In 1980, 33 percent of all Americans had a complete college education, and 61 percent had at least some college. By 2000, 42 percent had a full college education and three-fourths (74 percent) of Americans had at least some college.

These changes correspond with an increase in affluence in America and a rise in stock ownership. The median income for a family of four has risen from $41,451 in 1990 to $62,228 in the year 2000. In our polling more people now say they own stock than have a full-time job—66 percent own stock while 53 percent have a full-time job. Most Americans now have a personal stake in the success of the stock market and in the growth of the U.S. economy.

Americans no longer believe government is the answer to their problems. In December 2001, 54 percent said their thinking about the proper role of government is that "government should help people equip themselves to solve their own problems," while 23 percent said that government should stay out of people's lives so they can solve their problems

Q. Now I am going to read a list of issues. For each, please tell me who you trust to handle that issue, Republicans in Congress or Democrats in Congress. *(Dem/GOP) All*

	ALL	DEM MARGIN	OFFICE PARK DADS
Making corporate executives play by the rules	54/28	+26	+8
Preparing all Americans for the new economy	45/35	+10	+22
Getting the economy growing again	38/46	-12	-17
Maintaining fiscal discipline	40/43	-3	-5

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and 20 percent said the proper role is to "solve problems and protect people from adversity."

Even Hispanic and African-American voters strongly support an opportunity-oriented approach to solving problems. Among African-Americans, 50 percent said the proper role of government is to help people to solve their own problems. Only 27 percent said they believe the government should solve problems, while 23 percent said that government should stay out of people's lives. In a recent survey of Hispanic voters, 39 percent preferred opportunity-oriented solutions while 36 percent preferred government-based solutions.

Democrats have won steadily increasing support from voters primarily motivated by the first big trend—diversity and tolerance. But they have been losing support since 2000 among voters primarily concerned with economic opportunity. While Democrats are seen as the party better equipped to make corporate executives play by the rules, Republicans still receive equal if not higher performance ratings—especially from swing voters—than do Democrats on the issue of getting the economy growing again. This is especially true of the large voter category we call "office park dads"—suburban men between the ages of 25-64—who are otherwise attracted to the Democratic message of cultural tolerance.

Office park dads are not the downscale conservative men that unions have been pursuing. They are socially tolerant but entrepreneurially-minded and oriented to economic opportunity. On social tolerance, 58 percent of office park dads in a recent survey said they are either strictly pro-choice (36 percent) or pro-choice but opposed to "the partial birth procedure" (22 percent). In the same survey, 51 percent of rural men consider themselves strictly pro-life.

Office park dads currently prefer the Republicans to the Democrats in a generic test of congressional strength by 42 percent to 31 percent, even while suburban women support Democrats by 46 percent to 29 percent. Rural middle-aged men prefer Republicans to Democrats by an even higher margin—42 percent to 26 percent. Despite their current Republican preference, these voters can be won by Democrats with the right message.

Democrats made inroads in the 1990s with suburban women by developing an agenda that spoke to their socially moderate inclinations on issues such as abortion and spoke to the challenges these voters face in their daily lives. President Clinton offered a series of policies that appealed to women who were struggling to take time off of work for a health emergency or parent-teacher conference, shield children from unwanted media influences while working a second job, and protect children from school and gun violence. As a result, suburban women moved from an initially unfavorable (lukewarm) voter group into a reliable Democratic support group.

> "The two big **crosscutting changes** in American society are the country's growing diversity and the **dramatic spread** o higher **education** and affluence."

What To Do. To keep their current levels of support among suburban women and success-oriented Hispanics while winning a majority of office park dads, Democrats need to move beyond their traditional safety net agenda to offer voters an opportunity agenda. It should express an understanding of the changes taking place in America and stress the need for growth and fiscal discipline to expand opportunity. While voters demand accountability from corporate America, in the long run the Democrats' challenge is to make sure voters understand that their priority is to stand on the side of families, not to stand against the businesses that employ them.

extras New Democrats Online NDOL.org Search: Extra New Majority

This pro-growth, pro-fiscal-discipline message is especially critical during the current tax debate in Washington and around the country. Voters generally are much more likely to fear that Democrats want to raise taxes than that Republicans want to slash funding for popular social programs.

In a recent national survey we read voters a series of statements to see which one represents the most compelling portrait of the Democratic Party *(see chart, page 28)*. In overall terms, the profile that most successfully appeals to the American electorate is one that stresses that Democrats "understand the future" and that in a rapidly changing world, Democrats offer new approaches to the problems we face. This message was the only one tested that had strong overall appeal and that appealed to both suburban and rural men. After hearing that message, suburban men said they favored that type of Democratic congressional candidate 52 percent to 36 percent over Republicans.

Alternately, a more "populist" message may take advantage of corporate misconduct, but it also focuses on a negative view of the U.S. economy rather than a positive agenda for growth and opportunity. It identifies with the needs of those who consider themselves victims of the economy, not people who count themselves among its beneficiaries.

A populist message—or even a "kitchen table" message that promotes specific economic proposals rather than a broad agenda for opportunity—has strong appeal among voters who believe the economy is headed in the wrong direction and among rural middle-aged men. But it does not appeal to voters

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BUILD A MAJORITY,
continued from page 14

Midwestern states—their electoral vote margin of four (271-267) will go up to 18 (278-260), due to reapportionment. Then, for a safety margin, all they have to do is pick off a few of the states they lost by less than 5 percent—Oregon, New Mexico, Iowa, Wisconsin, Washington, Minnesota, Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Maine—and they're home free.

That was Bush political guru Karl Rove's essential message in his now infamous lost-and-accidentally-found PowerPoint presentation to a group of California Republicans this past June. Stick with us, allow us to do a little judicious pandering to workers in states like Wisconsin and Pennsylvania, and the GOP's Reagan coalition—albeit a bit slimmed down—will rise again. And, he might have added, we don't even need California, that current bastion of blue America; we can build our red America without it.

Republicans don't just rest their case on reapportionment. They think that below the state level, the trends favor the GOP. They argue that the pattern of growth within states favors the Republicans since formerly rural counties on the fringes of metropolitan areas are growing the fastest and these counties lean strongly Republican. Political analyst Michael Barone called these fringe areas "edge counties" in his influential "49 percent nation" article in *The Almanac of American Politics 2002*. David Brooks referred to these "fast-growing suburbs mostly in the South and West" as "sprinkler cities" in his recent cover article in *The Weekly Standard*, "Patio Man and the Sprawl People," but his argument is basically the same as Barone's: Demographic trends favor the Republicans.

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Fortunately for the Democrats, these arguments don't hold up to scrutiny. The Solid South is unlikely to remain solid; some of the mountain and Midwestern states that are red are likely to go blue; and the blue states that Al Gore carried by small margins in 2000 are likely to get harder, not easier, for the Republicans to pick off. Moreover, and crucially, growth trends *within* states favor the Democrats, not the Republicans.

As we argue in our new book, *The Emerging Democratic Majority*, the reason for these trends is the emergence of a new American political geography—a geography intimately linked to the spread of a postindustrial economy. Rove, Barone, and Brooks are missing the contours of this new geography as they attempt to resuscitate a California-less Reagan coalition. They're living in the past; they don't see that the same changes that have moved California into the Democratic column over the last decade are moving most of the rest of the country in the same direction. Here's how:

Democrats have been gaining strength in areas where the production of ideas and services has either redefined or replaced an economy dependent on manufacturing, agriculture, and resource extraction. Many of these areas are in the North and West, but they are also in states like Florida and Virginia. Republicans are strongest in areas where the transition to postindustrial society has lagged. Many of these are in the Deep South and Prairie States. As Democratic politics has evolved over the last decade, it has increasingly reflected the socially liberal, fiscally moderate priorities of these new areas—what we call a politics of progressive centrism. Republicans have continued to espouse an anti-government credo closely identified with business and the religious right—a politics that plays well in parts of the Deep South but not in a new postindustrial America.

This new postindustrial politics is not defined by states but by metropolitan regions within states. These postindustrial metropolises, which we call "ideopolises," are the breeding ground for the new Democratic majority. Insofar as these areas are not confined to the Northeast, far West, and upper Midwest but are found also in the South and Southwest, the Democrats have a chance to build a large majority and to rewrite today's political map. By 2008, Democrats could enjoy an electoral base of 332 electoral votes, many more than they need for a majority, while holding a competitive position in a number of additional states that might swell that majority.

The role of ideopolises. The transition to a postindustrial society has transformed the economic geography of the country. After World War II, industrial society was divided into three domains: the cities of offices and manufacturing plants, where white ethnics, minorities, and immigrants lived; suburbs, where many of the white middle class were moving; and rural areas of farms, mines, and forests. Postindustrial society is organized around metropolitan areas that include both suburbs and central cities. The production of goods has moved out of the central city into the suburbs, or even into semi-rural areas. And many ethnics and minorities have migrated from the city to the suburbs. The sharpest contrast now is not between city and suburb, but between the new metropolitan areas, taken as a whole, and the rural countryside. The suburbs themselves have become extensions of the city—demarcated artificially on maps—rather than extensions of the countryside housing city workers.

Some of the new postindustrial metropolitan areas like Silicon Valley or the Boulder, Colo., metro area contain significant manufacturing facilities, but it is manufacturing—whether of pharmaceuticals or semiconductors—that consists in the application of complex ideas to physical objects. And some of these metro areas specialize in producing what Joel Kotkin and Ross C. DeVol call "soft technology"—entertainment, media, fashion, design, and advertising—and in providing databases, legal counsel, and other business services. New York City and Los Angeles

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are both premier postindustrial metropolises that specialize in soft technology.

Most of these postindustrial metropolises also include a major university or several major universities that funnel ideas and, more important, people into the hard or soft technology industries. Boston's Route 128 feeds off Harvard and MIT. Silicon Valley is closely linked to Stanford and the University of California at Berkeley. Dane County's biomedical research is tied to the University of Wisconsin at Madison. And all of them have a flourishing service sector, with ethnic and vegetarian restaurants, multimedia shopping malls, children's museums, book store-coffee shops, and health clubs.

Professionals and technicians are heavily concentrated in the workforces of these postindustrial metropolises. A quarter or so of the jobs in Austin, Texas, Boston, San Francisco, or North Carolina's Research Triangle are held by professionals and technicians. Plentiful, too, are low-level service and information workers, including waiters, hospital orderlies, sales clerks, janitors, and teachers' aides. Many of these jobs have been filled by Hispanics and African-Americans, just as many of the high-professional jobs have been filled by Asian immigrants. It's one reason that the workforces in these areas we call ideopolises tend to be ethnically diverse and more complex in their stratification (various combinations of employers, employees, contract workers, temps, consultants, and the self-employed) than the workforce of the older industrial city.

The ethos and mores of many of these new metropolitan areas tend to be libertarian and bohemian because of the people they attract. Economists Richard Florida and Gary Gates found a close correlation between the concentration of gays and of the foreign-born and the concentration of high technology and information technology within a metropolitan area. They also found a high percentage of people who identified themselves as artists, musicians, and craftspeople. Concluded Florida, "Diversity is a powerful force in the value systems and choices of the new workforce, whose members want to work for companies and live in communities that reflect their openness and tolerance. The number one factor in choosing a place to live and work, they say, is diversity. Talented people will not move to a place that ostracizes certain groups."

The politics of these ideopolises emphasizes tolerance and openness. It is defined by the professionals, many of whom were deeply shaped by the social movements of the '60s. They worry about clean air and water, and when the

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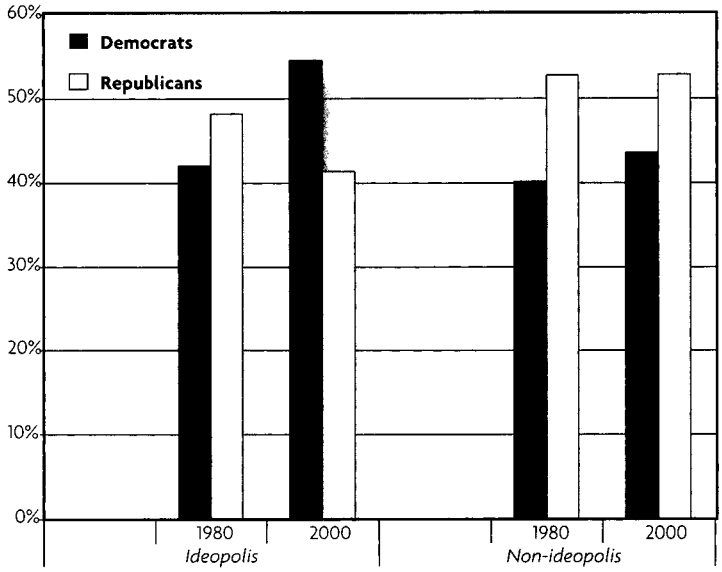
The Presidential Vote in Ideopolis and Non-ideopolis Counties, 1980 v. 2000

The greatest Democratic gains from 1980 to 2000 came in areas the authors call ideopolises, fast-growing metropolitan areas with Information Age economies.



SOURCE: *The Emerging Democratic Majority.*

Democratic Margin in the Five Largest-Growth Florida Counties

The chart illustrates how much each county grew in population from 1990 to 2000 and how the Democratic margin in presidential elections improved.

County (increase in population)	1988	1992	1996	2000
Broward (368,000)	0	+21	+35	+36
Miami-Dade (316,000)	-11	+4	+19	+6
Palm Beach (268,000)	-11	+12	+25	+27
Orange (219,000)	-37	-11	0	+2
Hillsborough (165,000)	-20	-6	+2	-3

SOURCE: *The Emerging Democratic Majority.*

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market fails to provide them, they call on government. They favor civil rights and liberties and good government. They disdain the intolerance and fundamentalism of the religious right. But they are also leery of the old Democratic politics of "big government" and large-scale social engineering. Some backed Ronald Reagan in 1980 and 1984, but since then, they and the places they have lived have moved steadily into the Democratic column—and in the meantime, they have reshaped the Democratic Party in their own postindustrial image.

Metropolitan areas come in different stages and configurations. In the San Francisco Bay area or the Chicago metro area, the work and culture of the ideopolis pervades the entire metropolitan area. Many of the same people, the same businesses, and the same coffee shops or book stores can be found in the central city and in the suburbs. These are the most advanced and integrated ideopolises. Many of these areas were once Republican but have become extremely Democratic in their politics. Gore won Portland's Multnomah County 64 percent to 28 percent. Princeton University's Mercer County went for Gore 61 percent to 34 percent. Seattle's King County was 60 percent to 34 percent for Gore. Other metropolitan areas like Fresno, Calif., or Muncie, Ind., have not yet made the transition to a postindustrial economy. They lag in telecommunications, computers, and high-tech jobs. In some of these areas, which are not yet ideopolises, Republicans continue to have a strong following.

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The Democrats' vote in the integrated ideopolises has included three groups that loom large in the emerging Democratic majority: professionals, women (especially single, working, and highly educated women), and minorities. But it has also included relatively strong support from the white working class—white workers who

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Independent Streak

The GOP may be losing independent suburban voters, but Democrats haven't won them yet. || *by* **Marshall Wittmann**

■ KARL ROVE CAN only read *The Emerging Democratic Majority* and weep. All of his plans for a massive Republican realignment may have been just a false hope of our modern Mark Hanna. While this unreconstructed Bull Mooser is deeply impressed by Judis' and Teixeira's insightful work, there are some potential limits to consider before the donkey succumbs to a bout of premature celebration.

Back in the Gilded Age, Hanna remarked, "Politics are one form of business, and must be treated as a business." Judis and Teixeira suggest that if the GOP is a business, it is a '90s dot-com whose speculative bubble is about to burst.

You really have to hand it to Judis and Teixeira for braving the conventional wisdom and questioning the dominance of the Bush Restoration. They wrote this book when the president and his party were already preparing for several decades of "red state" dominance. Their words are even more meaningful now that the Great Barbecue of '80s and '90s free market and deregulatory fundamentalism seems to be coming to an end.

Yet, just as the Bushies saw a potential dominance based upon a red state/blue state dichotomy, Judis and Teixeira may rely too heavily on demographic determinism. A lot can happen in politics that defy the best political demographer. Issues, events, and candidates matter.

The authors are clearly right on the mark on one big thing. They write, "If support for laissez-faire and regulatory capitalism goes in cycles, we are, if anything, at the end of a period in which laissez-faire has reigned, and at the beginning of a new period in which greater government intervention will occur."

A clear victim of the corporate crime wave is the Republican/conservative agenda of the past 20 years. More tax cuts for the rich? Social Security privatization? Deregulation?

Let it go. Move on. It's over. Kaput. Bye-bye. So long. It's been good to know you. See ya later.

However, just because the Republican/conservative agenda of the last 20 years has largely assumed room temperature, that does not necessarily mean that Democrats have arrived in the Promised Land. Here are four factors that mitigate against Democratic dominance:

1. Political cross-dressing. Do not overestimate the ability of this Gumby administration and Republican Party to accommodate to the political Zeitgeist. Although the only animating principle of the Republican Party is comforting the comfortable, the GOP also has a deep survival instinct. So, even though the tide is turning against limited government and deregulation, the GOP and the Bush administration have an ability to blur the distinctions between the two parties.

This has been the m.o. of the Bush presidency, with the exception of the tax cut. In that case, the donors had to be reimbursed. The adaptation of the Democratic agenda applies to the congressional Republicans as well.

Every time that the Republicans

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PASSING THE NASCAR TEST: Democrats need *Field and Stream* readers as well as bean sprout eaters to win.

have confronted a popular Democratic measure, they have largely accepted it or offered a discount version of their own. The president eventually signed campaign finance reform, the farm bill, the federal airline security legislation, and now corporate governance reform. All of these measures were initiated by Democrats or maverick Republicans. The White House offered its discount variations on Democratic legislation on HMO reform and prescription drugs.

While the elephant has donned the garb of the donkey, the Democrats sometimes have not been exactly in touch with their inner Andy Jackson. During the '90s they luxuriated in all the soft money, fast political cash. To many voters, there is not a clear and obvious distinction between the Ds and the Rs when it comes to delivering for the special interests. Sometimes, it does appear that the fat cats have got the donkey's tongue.

2. The culture war. Teixeira and Judis assume that the cultural issues redound to the Democrats' benefit because of Republican excess. However, it is not clear that the Republican Party or the Bush administration is rashly moving the agenda of the religious right. Indeed, the administration seems to avoid such polarizing issues as school prayer or gay rights. On stem cell research, for instance, the president reached a compromise that upset neither his conservative supporters nor centrist voters.

Clinton's success in 1992 was in part his ability to present himself as a Southern, pro-death penalty good old boy who was not threatening to culturally conservative swing voters.

Judis and Teixeira cite Ken Warren, a St. Louis University pollster, who notes that rural voters were put off by Gore, whom they see as a "Northeastern stuffed shirt," but attracted to Clinton's and Bush's folksiness. The authors note, "The same problems seem to have affected Gore in other Midwestern states and in Southern states such as Arkansas, Louisiana, and Tennessee, where white working-class voters are reluctant to support Democrats with whom they feel little cultural affinity."

The lesson here is that, at the presidential level, a successful Democratic nominee is going to have to pass the NASCAR test. If he cannot relate to that crowd, forget it. Democrats need *Field and Stream* readers as well as bean-sprout eaters. Don't underestimate Karl Rove's ability to manipulate cultural symbols and passions, such as patriotism, to the advantage of the Republicans.

3. The hawk and dove. If the Achilles' heel of the Republicans is their coziness to corporate power, the Democrats' is their perceived weakness on national security. In the age of 9/11 and the war against terror, Teixera and Judis assign this issue too little importance. Democrats must connect with their inner Scoop Jackson.

4. The revolt of the ideopolis. The real growth sector of the electorate is independents. The authors note this interesting nugget: "Voters who are willing to identify themselves as 'independent' have increased from 23 percent in 1952 to 40.4 percent in 2000."

The ideopolis may be an **attractive habitat** for an independen **neo-progressive movement**. Rather than a realignment, we may see an accelerated dealignment of voters who are **alienated** from both parties.

In the aftermath of the corporate crime wave, there may be a lot of volatility in the postindustrial ideopolises spurred by the special interest big money dominance in Washington. The ideopolis may be an attractive habitat for an independent neo-progressive movement. Rather than a realignment, we may see an accelerated dealignment of voters who are alienated from both parties.

The ideopolis may be an ideal breeding ground for the Bull Moose. ◆

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have not graduated from a four-year college and tend not to have credentialed jobs—the very group whose defection from the Democrats allowed conservative Republicans to build a majority. In the most advanced ideopolises, the white working class seems to embrace the same values as professionals and in some of them, white working-class men vote with remarkable similarity to their female counterparts. As a result, Republican appeals to hot-button issues such as race (or resentment against immigrants), guns, and abortion have largely fallen on deaf ears, and these voters have not only rejected Republican social conservatism but also reverted to a preference for Democratic economics. In Seattle's King County, white working-class voters backed Gore 50 percent to 42 percent. In Portland's Multnomah County, it was by 71 percent to 24 percent. By comparison, working-class whites nationwide supported Bush 57 percent to 40 percent.

By contrast, Democrats have continued to lose in rural areas in states like Missouri and Pennsylvania and in many low-tech metropolitan areas like Greenville, S.C., that have not made the postindustrial transition. In all, Gore lost the non-ideopolis counties 52.9 percent to 43.6 percent. Indeed, if you compare 1980, the beginning of the Reagan era, to today, it is clear that almost all of the pro-Democratic change in the country since then has been concentrated in America's ideopolis counties *(see chart, page 19)*. This is what has happened to the Reagan coalition: It has vanished into the postindustrial economy.

Ideopolises v. edge counties and sprinkler cities. The changes wrought by this new political geography can be readily seen by looking at three states that voted Republican in the six presidential elections from 1968 to 1988—California, Illinois, and New Jersey—but are now solidly Democratic.

California. In the Reagan era, the Los Angeles area in Southern California, except for minority and Jewish enclaves, backed Republican conservatives, while the Bay area in Northern California was divided between Democratic-leaning San Francisco and the moderate Republicans of San Mateo, Santa Clara, and Contra Costa counties. But in the '90s, the economic and political differences between the Bay area and Los Angeles County suddenly disappeared. The Bay area, of course, became the headquarters for Silicon Valley and one of America's leading ideopolises. But Los Angeles County also changed. In 1983, there had been almost twice as many aerospace workers as workers in the motion picture industry. By 2000, there were almost three times more workers employed in motion pictures than in aerospace. It, too, became an ideopolis and, like the Bay area, began voting about 2-to-1 for Democrats. In the state as a whole, Gore in 2000 won the ideopolis counties but lost the counties that had not yet been transformed by the postindustrial economy. California's 14 ideopolis counties, which made up 69 percent of the overall vote, supported Gore 57 percent to 38 percent, while the 44 non-ideopolis counties supported Bush 49 percent to 46 percent.

Illinois. In 1972, Richard Nixon actually won Chicago and Cook County, and Walter Mondale won the county by only 3 percent in 1984. But Chicago and Cook County were making the transition to a postindustrial metropolitan area. Between 1970 and 1997, Chicago lost 60 percent of its manufacturing jobs. While Chicago still manufactured goods, what it made was often high-technology computer equipment like modems or semiconductor chips. According to a Humphrey Institute study, the Chicago metropolitan area now has the highest number of high-tech jobs of any metropolitan area. All in all, the hog butcher of the world now has twice as many professionals and technicians in the metro area as production workers.

> "The sharpest contrast now is not **between city and suburb**, but between the **new metropolitan areas**, taken as a whole, and the rural countryside. The suburbs themselves have become **extensions of the city**."

To gauge the effect of these ideopolises nationally, we looked at 263 counties that are part of metro areas that have the highest concentrations of high-tech economic activity or contain a highly ranked research university. Most of these areas used to be Republican and voted for Republican presidential candidates in 1980 and 1984. In 1984, for instance, they went 55 percent to 44 percent for Reagan. But in 2000, Gore garnered 54.6 percent of the vote in these areas compared to 41.4 percent for Bush. And since Ralph Nader got 3.3 percent in these counties, the total Democratic-leaning vote in America's ideopolises can be reckoned at close to 58 percent.

At the same time, Chicago and its suburbs began to move Democratic in 1988, but the most dramatic change came in the 1990s. In the 1992, 1996, and 2000 elections, the Republicans never got more than 30 percent of the vote in Cook County, and the Democratic total rose from 58 percent in 1992 to 69 percent in 2000. With Cook County tallying about 40 percent of the votes in the state, Bush in 2000 would have had to win 65 percent outside of Cook County to carry Illinois. That's an insuperable obstacle in a state that, even outside of Chicago and Cook County, is beginning to trend Democratic. For example, Lake County, one of Chicago's "collar counties" and part of the overall

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Fellow Travelers

The coming Democratic majority will be drawn from the top and bottom of the Information Age economy.

by **Harold Meyerson**

■ THE SINGULAR virtue of John Judis' and Ruy Teixeira's *The Emerging Democratic Majority* is that it knows who's bein' born and who's busy dying. In the wake of George W. Bush's so-called election victory in 2000, a passel of polemicists passing as political analysts prophesied the renewal of the Republican ascendancy of 1980. Karl Rove (building on themes from Newt Gingrich) saw the victory as 1896 all over again. As William McKinley had won his race by representing the new industrial order at the turn of that century, so Bush had won his by representing the new postindustrial order of today. Michael Barone saw the Republican tide rising in the fastest-growing counties and among churchgoers in this most devout of countries.

It's hard to say which of these analyses was worse. By the time of the 2000 election, Gingrich—whose idea of the postindustrial economy was the beach volleyball industry—had passed from the scene (as had big time beach volleyball). His contention, and Rove's, that the Republicans were the party of the new was belied by every bit of political and economic data that can be gleaned from studies of the 2000 vote. And it was Barone who couldn't tell if a GOP majority was coming or going, as he mistook a decline in churchgoing for a rise and held that the rapid percentage growth of some sparsely settled rural counties betokened a new Republican era. The problem with Barone's New Republican majority is that it moos.

In another, but not all that distant, part of the forest, DLC pollster Mark Penn blamed Al Gore's defeat on his failure to motivate a sufficient number of "wired workers," the paradigmatic figures of our New Economy. That contention is hard to sustain unless you believe that customarily Democratic but pro-Bush states such as West Virginia and Tennessee are high points of high-tech.

No such pseudo-science afflicts the Judis-Teixeira study. The coming of the postindustrial order, they argue, has been marked by social, economic, and geographic changes that all help Democrats. Economically, the new order has greatly increased the ranks of professionals in America (now 21 percent of the electorate), who more and more support social liberalism and regulated capitalism. Socially, it has led to the entry of more women into the workplace, increasing that group's commitment to civil and social rights. And, it has turned much of America into a land of ideopolises—metropolitan areas where the manufacture and exchange of ideas has surpassed the manufacture and exchange of things, and where a liberal and once exclusively urban culture now pervades the 'burbs.

Ideopolises tend to vote Democratic, the authors demonstrate. States that have them vote Democratic; states that don't—Kentucky, Montana, Mississippi—vote Republican. But the latter are a dying breed.

Judis and Teixeira document in detail that there's one more factor that signally helps the Democrats—the political consequences of immigration, chiefly Hispanic immigration. The political transformation of California to the most Democratic state in the union, of Illinois to a solid Democratic state, and of Florida to a state that

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Chicago ideopolis, backed George H.W. Bush against Michael Dukakis in 1988 64 percent to 36 percent; in 2000, it supported his son by just 50 percent to 48 percent, with 2 percent going to Nader. In general, Illinois' ideopolis counties have gone from about a 50-50 split in 1988 to a 59-39 Democratic margin in 2000, while the Democratic disadvantage in the rest of the state—a shrinking share of the electorate—has remained steady at about 7 percentage points.

New Jersey. In the '80s, Reagan and Bush won the first and third biggest counties, Bergen in the North and Middlesex in the center, by comfortable margins. But in the 1990s, the central and northeastern sections of the state became almost a continuous ideopolis. The state's largest occupational group—and fastest growing—consists of professionals, who make up 23.3 percent of the workforce compared to 15.4 percent nationally. Counties like Bergen and Middlesex moved sharply Democratic. Bill Clinton in 1996 and Gore in 2000 took the two counties by identical margins: 14 points in Bergen and 24 points in Middlesex. In Bergen County, Gore won 65 percent of college-educated white voters, including 77 percent of college-educated white women. In the state, he won voters with postgraduate degrees (usually a good indication of professionalism) by 62 percent to 34 percent. At the same time, he won 88 percent of the black vote and 58 percent of the Hispanic vote (which includes pro-Republican Cubans from Union City.)

But what of the Republican Solid South? The changes that have swept through California, Illinois, and New Jersey are affecting politics there. Take Florida, which the Republicans desperately need to keep in their column. As Florida's high-tech and tourist centers have grown dramatically, they have also moved sharply Democratic. For example, Orlando's Orange County, once the center of Florida agriculture, has become a major entertainment center and a home for

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LATINOS AND LABOR: In California, unions have played a key role in mobilizing Hispanic voters.

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now tilts slightly Democratic, is inexplicable absent immigration from Mexico and Central America. Indeed, I'd argue that the Latinoization of America is as important as the ideopolization of America to the coming Democratic realignment. Historically, all previous Democratic realignments (all two—Andy Jackson's and FDR's) involved bringing new working-class elements into the electoral system, and the coming realignment is no different. The reason behind the transformation of, say, northern Orange County, Calif., from the loony-right stomping grounds of the John Birch Society and Bob Dornan into a reliably Democratic region isn't that northern Orange County has become notably postindustrial but that it's gone from all-white to all-Latino in 30 years.

The politicization and mobilization of the new immigrant community is in many locales the handiwork of the Sweeney-era labor movement, just as the politicization of the Eastern European steel and autoworkers of the 1930s was the handiwork of the CIO. Judis and Teixeira acknowledge the heightened effectiveness of labor's political program over the past seven years, but I think they understate just how important to the Democrats' short- and long-term prospects it really is.

Based on all these trends, Judis and Teixeira prescribe what they call "progressive centrism" for Democrats in search of majority status. By this, they mean support for civil and women's rights (including the right to an abortion), environmentalism, (re)regulated capitalism, greater social protections (say, more universal health coverage), and a populism that targets big business in a time of plutocracy. They get no quarrel from me on any of this. Where we differ a bit is on the need for incrementalism in pursuing a progressive agenda. Popular skepticism of government, they argue, is such that no sweeping universal programs are imaginable. But in arguing that Democrats have a negative image as big spenders on programs that helped precious few, they are forgetting the biggest program of all: Medicare, which is a political untouchable. The difference, of course, is that Medicare is a universal program for all seniors, not a means-tested or racially targeted set of benefits. Does that mean a universal program like universal health insurance can be enacted in one fell swoop? Not likely, alas. But it does mean that if our health system continues its trajectory toward implosion and if no partial fix seems remotely adequate to the challenge of insuring and reinsuring the American people, the public's anti-statism could likely be eclipsed by the public's pragmatic acceptance of a non-incremental solution.

Finally, what do we make of the new-model Democratic Party that Teixeira and Judis so convincingly sketch? It is in some ways the opposite of Roosevelt's, which was characterized by (working) class cohesion on economic issues and constant tension on racial issues. The two fast-growing major groups in today's party are professionals and Latinos, the latter chiefly concentrated in low-wage, non-union jobs in service, construction, and manufacturing. In short, there's no class cohesion this time out, but there is widespread support for civil rights. In this party of the future, there would be agreement on increased funding for schools, probably on a higher minimum wage and more comprehensive health care, maybe on increasing worker rights, but maybe not on pro-corporate globalization policies. But whatever the disagreements, they would take place within the majority party. ●

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computer services. Democrats lost Orange County by 37 percent in 1988; in 2000, Gore won it by 2 points.

But the changes are not just in Orange County. As the table shows, since 1988, Democratic strength has dramatically increased in all five counties of the state that added the most people during the last decade—Fort Lauderdale's Broward County, Miami-Dade, Palm Beach, and Tampa's Hillsborough County, as well as Orange County. It's not hard to see where Florida's political future lies.

As the postindustrial economy grows, change is coming to the rest of the South as well. As North Carolina has moved away from reliance on textiles and tobacco, it has become more receptive to a progressive centrist politics. All the state's postindustrial areas have become more Democratic since 1988. Dukakis lost Charlotte's Mecklenberg County 59 percent to 40 percent in 1988, but Gore lost it only by 51 percent to 48 percent in 2000, even though he did not campaign in the state (Clinton carried it by 3 points in 1996). The Democrats' edge in Durham County in the Research Triangle increased from 54 percent to 45 percent up to 63 percent to 35 percent over the same time period. In the Raleigh metro area as a whole, Gore edged Bush by a point, up from a 5 point Democratic deficit in 1988.

Virginia's premier postindustrial area, the Northern Virginia suburbs of Washington, D.C., where AOL and many of the nation's telecommunications firms are headquartered, has also been moving Democratic. Fairfax has gone from a 61 percent to 38 percent Republican margin in 1988 to a 49 percent to 47 percent Bush margin in 2000, with 3 percent to Nader. Arlington went from a 53 percent to 45 percent Democratic edge to a 60 percent to 34 percent Democratic advantage, with 5 percent to Nader, over the same time period. If these suburban voters keep increasing their proportion of the Virginia vote, and if they continue to trend Democratic, they could very well tilt Virginia back to the Democrats, even in presidential elections. Certainly, Democratic Gov. Mark Warner's recent victory suggests this is a very real possibility.

But what about all those fast-growing edge counties and sprinkler cities that Barone and Brooks write about? Won't the increasing weight of these pro-Republican counties tilt these states and others back toward the Republicans? That's not likely for two simple reasons. First, most of these counties aren't very big (the 50 fastest growing average 109,000 in population), so their high growth rates translate into only modest increases in actual Republican voters. These modest increases pale in comparison to the additional Democratic voters provided by populous metropolitan counties (the 50 largest growing average 1.46 million) that had the largest increases in population. Al Gore gained a 2.7 million vote advantage from the 50 largest growth counties; George W. Bush gained only a 500,000 vote advantage from the 50 fastest growing counties.

Second, as these edge counties and sprinkler cities get bigger and become more integrated into a metropolitan area, they typically become more Democratic (call it the "ideopolis effect"). Combined with their relatively small size, it means that even Brooks' and Barone's best-case counties are unlikely to have the potent political effects they predict.

Take Loudon County in the Northern Virginia suburbs, the sixth-fastest growing county in the country, cited by Brooks in his article. Even after a decade of very fast growth, Loudon still has only about 170,000 inhabitants. And, as Loudon has grown, it has become less Republican, going from a 66 percent to 33 percent Republican margin in 1988 to a much more modest 56 percent to 41 percent Republican advantage in 2000. The county's modest size and its declining Republican edge mean it can't stop an area-wide pro-Democratic trend (much less start a pro-Republican one): Even as Loudon was growing like topsy, the Northern Virginia suburbs as a whole went from a 20 point Democratic disadvantage to almost even over the same time period.

Or take Douglas County, Colo., outside of Denver, the fastest growing county in the country and lovingly cited by both Brooks and Barone. Douglas still has only 176,000 inhabitants. And, while it went for Bush by 34 points in 2000, that's down from 42 points in 1988 and 60 points in 1984. Reflecting these realities, Douglas' fast growth just hasn't been enough to drive its metro area toward the Republicans. Instead, the Denver metro area has gone from a 3 point Republican margin in 1988 to a 1 point Democratic advantage in 2000.

And Loudon and Douglas are two of the larger, fast-growing counties. The smaller ones, of course, have even less chance of impacting political trends. Contrary to Barone and Brooks, edge counties/sprinkler cities are clearly no antidote for trends in the nation's ideopolises—not in states that still lean Republican and certainly not in states that lean or are solid Democratic.

The new political geography has a powerful logic that should lead, over time, to a Democratic, not Republican, electoral majority. Of course, demography is not destiny—Democrats could fall back into the bad habits of their past, while Republicans could move decisively to the center. But barring unforeseen developments, the trends moving America toward a postindustrial economy should favor Democrats in the decade to come. ◆

> The politics of these ideopolises **emphasizes tolerance** and openness. It is **defined by** the professionals, many of whom w **deeply shaped** by the social movements of the **'60s**.

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BIG BOX MALLS: The new sprawl people don't live in cities, don't work in cities, and don't share the values of urban culture. They shop in giant malls and their politics are moderately Republican.

The Brawl in the Sprawl

If Democrats look down on the values of the outer suburbs, they'll soon see red. || *by* **David Brooks**

■ FOR A LONG TIME, I BOUGHT the argument that the emerging majority in this country was Democratic. The key forces, it seemed, were the rising Hispanic population, which everybody talks about, and the rising professional population so well described by John B. Judis and Ruy Teixeira. In upscale regions across America—on the Main Line outside of Philadelphia, in the North Shore suburbs outside of Chicago, and in Silicon Valley—there is a sharp and significant swing to the Democrats.

But now I am not so sure about this Democratic trend. In fact, I'd bet that the emerging majority is a Republican one—or at least it can be.

Consider just one statistic: In 1979, less than 15 percent of the office space in America was in the suburbs. Today, almost half of the office space is in suburbs, often in those low-slung office parks you see near the airports and along the highways. That means that we now have a whole tribe of Americans, a majority in fact, who not only don't live in cities, but don't work in cities, don't go to movies or restaurants in cities, and don't have any regular contact with urban life.

The Democrats are strong in urban "blue state" America and Republicans are strong in rural "red state" America. But this new tribe of people is not red or blue but is a mix—a purple America. These are the sprawl people, and they are the swing voters who will shape the destinies of both parties. At the moment their values are moderately conservative, when they think about politics at all.

We are in the midst of a great period of suburban growth. Sure, some cities rebounded in the 1990s, but the suburbs grew twice as fast. The suburbs around Atlanta now sprawl for hundreds of miles. In a few decades the greater Phoenix area will have almost 10 million people; it will be a more sig-

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nificant city than Chicago. Already, Mesa, Ariz., has a larger population than St. Louis, Cincinnati, or Minneapolis.

Moreover, the opportunities and goodies that will attract people in the future are all in the suburbs. The biotech revolution is taking place in towns like Rockville, Md.; other innovations will take place in Douglas County, Colo., and King of Prussia, Pa. The populations of these office park communities are exploding.

But it's easy to miss the significance of this development because our image of suburbia is motionless. We think of the suburbs as a place where people with families go to live. In fact, a majority of households in suburbia have no kids. We think of suburbia as white. But in fact, the majority of Asian-Americans live in suburbia; half of all Hispanics live in suburbia; and 40 percent of all African-Americans live in suburbia.

Teixeira and Judis seem to assume there is still such a thing as a coherent metropolitan area. That blurs a key distinction: The most important political divide in the coming decades will not be between coastal and inland regions, or between urban America and rural America. It will be between one kind of suburb and another: inner suburbs, which have large numbers of people at the top and the bottom of the income scale and are hence Democratic, and the faster-growing outer suburbs, which have greater similarity of incomes and are hence Republican.

The really crucial question is this: As new people move to the outer suburbs and sprawl areas, will they bring their cultures and voting patterns with them, or will they adapt to the local suburban culture?

I used to believe that people would keep their old voting patterns. After all, I figured, there is no such thing as a culture of fast-growth suburbs. The sprawl areas, I thought, were a blank slate to be filled in by the cultures of people moving there. But with the explosion of office park people and institutions, a new culture is emerging. And people who are part of that culture tend to adopt the values of George W. Bush, regardless of the values they had in their old towns. These include order and neatness over disorder and dysfunction; achievement, sports, and competition; and a sense of responsibility and success. It's a jock culture filled with talk of college football, NASCAR, and kids' sports teams that travel. It's a culture in which seeker-sensitive mega-churches are part of the atmosphere, even if you never set foot in one. It's a culture of big-box mega-malls with parking lots as big as nuclear test sites where sprawl people gather to brag about how much they're saving by buying in bulk.

In this culture, politics plays a small role. Sprawl people show an active dislike for labor unions, jobs-for-life civil servants, and professional ethnic agitators—many of the groups that are identified with the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. This is a culture that is extremely intolerant of racial spoils systems and of people who try to get by without acting entrepreneurially.

Such is the culture of suburban sprawl. Its inhabitants are acutely aware of the fact that many of the people who write for and read *The New York Times,* or who live in university towns, look down on suburban sprawl, disdain big-box malls, sneer at Olive Garden restaurants, and are completely ignorant of Pentecostalism, NASCAR, country music, golf, beltless slacks, and the rest of boom suburb culture. They resent those people for being snobs and know they tend to be Democrats.

This culture wins out over the culture the newcomers left behind for several reasons. One is that new arrivals are hungry to connect and form communities, which creates powerful social pressures for new bonds and a high degree of conformity. As these fast-growth suburbs transform the immigrants, they create Republicans, mainly moderate Republicans. The already Republican suburbs just become more Republican. In states like Colorado, the suburban Republican surge in fast-growing Douglas County is counterbalancing the Democratic advantage in Denver and Boulder. In Virginia, the Republican surge in Loudon County counterbalances the Democratic advantage in Arlington.

This **new tribe** of people is not red or blue but is a mix—a **purple America**. These are the sprawl people, and they are the swing voters who will shape the **destinies** of both parties.

Right now much of the Democratic Party is being driven by antipathy for George W. Bush and the people who are perceived to be his corporate cronies. The people in growth suburbs are never going to hate Bush. They are disgusted by corporate greed, but they are never going to be disgusted by country club communities, gated suburbs, and SUVs. In fact, those are the things they are striving for. George W. Bush fits right into their picture of the world.

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Growth suburb culture is a powerful thing. And it will grow more powerful as the years pass. You take, say, a Hispanic family that now votes Democratic. You put them in a suburban development with a name like Falcon Crowne Point, and I suspect that over several years you will see them conforming to the local mores and building their identity around institutions that are more identified with the Republican Party than the Democratic Party—country clubs, business groups, Pentecostal-influenced modes of worship, and so on. They will not become ardent conservatives with a taste for culture war, but they will make certain judgments about which party shares their values.

My warning to Democrats is this: The party that alienates the sprawl people will reap what it sows. ◆

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Would you be more or less likely to vote for a Democratic candidate who...

Q. Understands the future. Suppose Democrats said, the Democratic Party is the party of the future, understanding that in a rapidly changing world, we need new approaches to make sure America remains peaceful and prosperous and that opportunity is available to all those willing and able to work. This means a strong national and homeland defense ensured through a vibrant and modern military force. This means a sound fiscal policy that keeps interest rates low. It means helping families balance work and family, increasing opportunity by making college affordable and helping workers get the skills training they need to stay competitive, providing affordable healthcare and prescription drugs and investing in research and technology to encourage innovation throughout the economy.

ALL	DEM	IND	OFFICE PARK DADS	RURAL MEN	ECON RIGHT TRACK	ECON WRONG TRACK
59/25	91/3	55/19	52/36	53/30	36/36	76/16

Q. Takes a populist stance. Suppose Democrats said they are looking out for the people's interests, not the special interests. Democrats will defend Social Security from Republicans who are draining $2 trillion dollars from the Social Security trust fund for tax cuts aimed at the wealthiest one percent of Americans and big business. And Democrats support rolling them back to keep us out of deficits. Democrats want to give a prescription drug benefit for all seniors, protect workers from future Enrons, punish corrupt corporate executives cut down on the high cost of healthcare, and protect the environment from the big polluters and corporate interests that have too much influence in Washington.

ALL	DEM	IND	OFFICE PARK DADS	RURAL MEN	ECON RIGHT TRACK	ECON WRONG TRACK
51/28	85/2	41/23	50/45	67/8	35/47	61/18

Q. Emphasizes "kitchen table" issues. Suppose Democrats said we need to secure America's future for all of our families. Democrats are committed to winning the war on terrorism and making our country more secure. And Democrats are committed to making families more secure, by protecting Social Security, pension and retirement savings, investing in America to create good jobs, cutting prescription drug costs and providing Medicare drug coverage for every senior, improving education by reducing class size with new qualified teachers, and keeping our air and water clean.

ALL	DEM	IND	OFFICE PARK DADS	RURAL MEN	ECON RIGHT TRACK	ECON WRONG TRACK
49/29	83/6	42/22	34/47	66/18	32/45	57/20

THE RIGHT AGENDA,

continued from page 17

who are generally satisfied with the economy or to opportunity-oriented voters such as the office park dads.

As the table above shows, a message about opportunity and the future brings Democrats even with Republicans among people who are optimistic about the economy while also winning the support of three in four voters who believe the economy is headed in the wrong direction. The populist and kitchen table messages are relatively less appealing among these"wrong track" voters and also fail to attract Democrats, even among those voters who are satisfied with the economy. As such, the "future" message is the only one of the three that works in economic good times as well as bad. Just as important, the future-oriented message appeals to the growing segments of the electorate while the other messages appeal primarily to declining segments.

Taking advantage of long-term national demographic trends has often been difficult for Democrats. Sometimes they have simply gotten them wrong. When President Lyndon Johnson announced his War on Poverty he predicted that 95 percent of Americans would one day live in cities. Instead, our suburbs have grown at the expense of both our urban and rural areas.

Today's demographics are delivering a clear message. Trends towards voter independence, diversity, tolerance, and affluence, as well as support for private-sector opportunity, *can* produce a long-term Democratic majority. But the positive Democratic trends of the 1990s did not happen automatically; they were the product of a carefully thought-out political strategy and a bold national agenda to promote it. In an ever-more-complex society of the 21st century, it will take the same kind of political shrewdness and policy innovation to produce victory. ◆

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Making the case on Iraq

President Bush is determined to force the issue on Iraq before the midterm elections. That sets up the most consequential foreign policy vote since Congress authorized his father to launch the Persian Gulf War in 1991.

For Democrats who had been hoping to contest the elections on the more favorable ground of corporate crime, anxious markets, and prescription drugs, the timing looks suspicious. Well, the party needs to get over it. National security is the dominant issue in U.S. politics now and for the foreseeable future. Instead of trying to change the subject to domestic issues, Democrats also will have to compete with Republicans on the basis of which party has the best ideas for making Americans safer.

The 1990 vote revealed a Democratic Party still afflicted with post-Vietnam doubts—unwarranted, as it turned out—about America's ability to use force effectively or legitimately. Democrats must do better on the next test of national resolve.

Some consultants will urge Democrats to back whatever Bush proposes, to neutralize Iraq as a campaign issue and allow them to dwell on domestic issues. But letting themselves be stampeded by a popular commander in chief will do little to burnish Democrats' reputation for toughness. On the contrary, Democrats as the opposition party have a public duty to grill administration officials, probe flaws in their arguments, and demand clarity about how they intend to change the regime in Baghdad.

More fundamentally, though, Democrats need to take their own distinctive stand on Iraq. As internationalists rather than unilateralists, Democrats are in a strong position to challenge the international community to live up to its responsibility to settle accounts with Saddam Hussein's outlaw regime.

For starters, Democrats need to resist the argument that only the discovery of new evidence against Saddam—the acquisition of nuclear weapons or clear involvement in anti-U.S. terrorism—would justify action against the dictator. That reasoning implies that a statute of limitations has expired on Saddam's long catalogue of past crimes. What we already know is bad enough: Saddam is a serial aggressor—he's attacked no fewer than four neighboring countries—and an implacable enemy of the United States who is desperately seeking nuclear weapons to complement his deadly arsenal of biological and chemical weapons. Democrats should make it clear to the public that the status quo is intolerable, that the old policy of containing Saddam has failed, and that leaving him free to acquire nuclear weapons is a risk that neither we nor or the civilized world can afford to take.

Momentum has been gathering for weeks to open Iraq to U.N. arms inspectors. A highly intrusive and unfettered inspection regime, the argument goes, can satisfy the world that Saddam is not developing nuclear and biological weapons. Democrats certainly should support aggressive inspections, but stopping Saddam's drive for nuclear weapons isn't enough. Our ultimate aim should be to liberate Iraqis from Saddam's nightmarish "Republic of Fear." As the debate unfolds, Democrats should reaffirm their support for a regime change in Iraq, even as they reserve the right to differ with the White House over timing and means.

It's a measure of how badly the Bush administration has bungled its case against Iraq that the burden of proof has shifted from Saddam and his apologists to the United States. Throughout the summer, conversation abroad focused not on Saddam's repeated violations of civilized norms, but on whether the United States is an out-of-control hyperpower answerable only to itself.

Such canards—which British Prime Minister Tony Blair bravely labeled "straightforward anti-Americanism"—demand a response from Democrats. As authentic heirs to America's great internationalist leaders—Wilson, Roosevelt, Truman, and Kennedy—they can remind the world that it is not American power but Saddam's odious dictatorship that poses an unavoidable challenge to the basic values that Europe and America share.

In opposing regime change in Iraq, many Europeans profess a punctilious regard for international law. But it's Saddam who has defied a series of U.N. resolutions requiring him to end his quest for mass destruction weapons and missiles and open his country to inspection. The Bush administration has made no secret of its disdain for U.N. impotence and its determination to act against Iraq without its sanction. Democrats should insist that the Security Council enforce its own long train of mandates imposed on Iraq.

The challenge for Democrats, then, is neither to blindly support nor reflexively oppose Bush's plans toward Iraq. It is to articulate their own case against Saddam, one that is grounded in the party's tradition of progressive internationalism and that allays any lingering public doubts about its willingness to confront those who threaten our country, our friends, and the ideals we share. ◆

Will Marshall is president of the Progressive Policy Institute.

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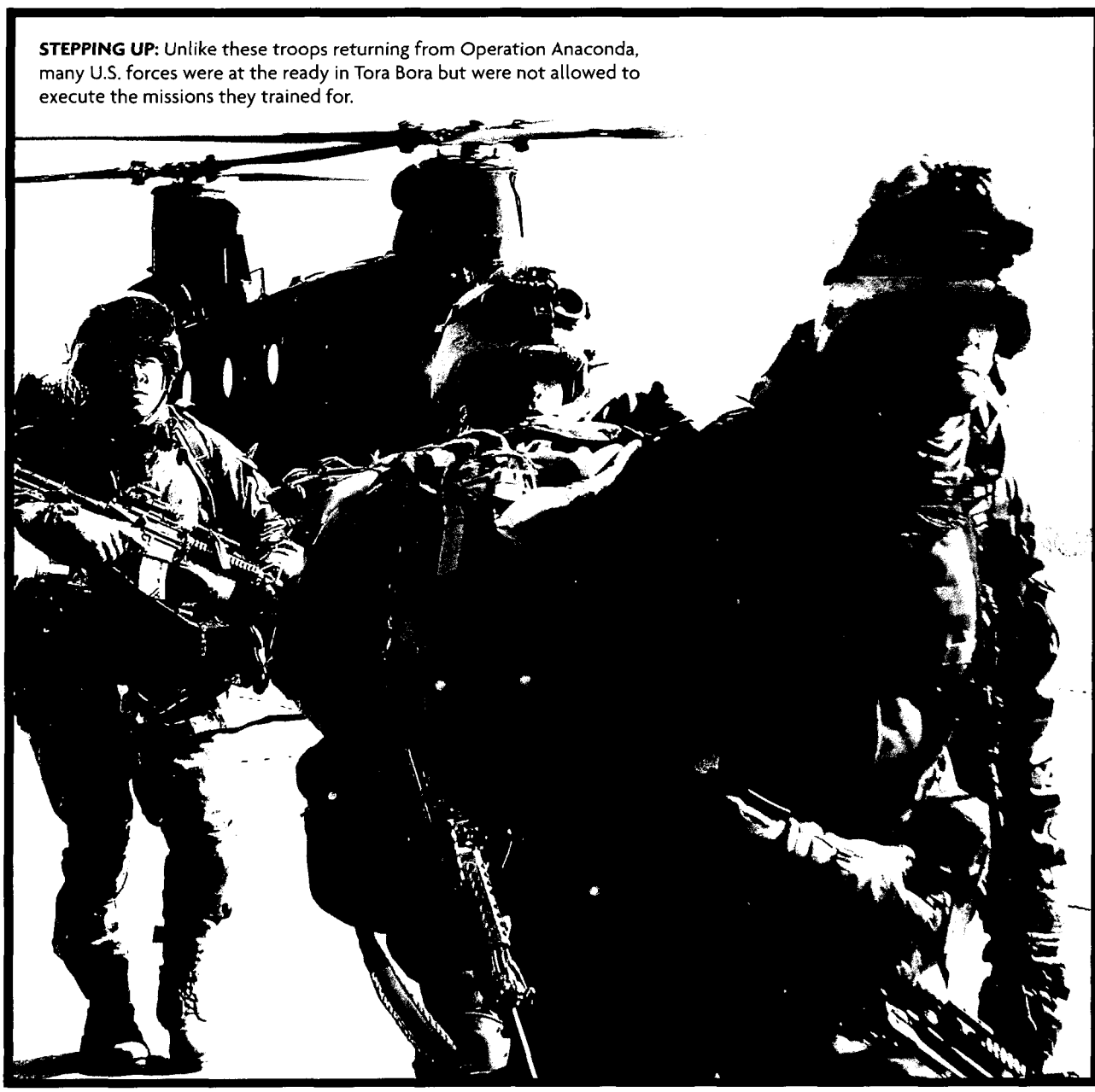
Democrats and the War on Terrorism

Foreign policy should not be ceded to the Republicans. || *by* **Sen. John F. Kerry**



STEPPING UP: Unlike these troops returning from Operation Anaconda, many U.S. forces were at the ready in Tora Bora but were not allowed to execute the missions they trained for.

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Democrats must resist a new orthodoxy within our party—a politically stagnating shift that does a disservice to more than 75 years of history. This is the new conventional wisdom of consultants, pollsters, and strategists who argue that Democrats should be the party of domestic issues solely.

They are wrong. As a party, Democrats need to talk about all the things that strengthen and protect America. We need to have a vision that extends to the world around us, and we should remember that this vision is as old as our party. Woodrow Wilson was elected during a time of peace, but he led during a time of war. Franklin Roosevelt was elected to tackle the Great Depression, create Social Security, and put America back to work. But no one should forget that he did those things even as he responded to Pearl Harbor and marshaled the nation's troops from Normandy to Iwo Jima. And John F. Kennedy didn't try to change the subject of the debate when General Eisenhower's vice president brought up foreign policy. Kennedy challenged America globally, insisting that we do more and better, and that we do these things not because they are easy but because they are hard.

It's our turn again to talk about things that are hard. Not long ago, the Bush administration was given the country's full support to destroy al Qaeda. America expected the full might of its military to be called into action, especially considering the administration's promise not merely to fire missiles into the desert but to do whatever was necessary to smoke Osama bin Laden and his terrorist network out of their caves. But when given the opportunity at Tora Bora, the president didn't turn to the best military in history. Instead, he turned to Afghan mercenaries—who only a week before were on the enemy's side—and entrusted them with the responsibility of seeking out the No. 1 terrorist in the world. When the United States had 1,000 hardened al Qaeda fighters trapped, Bush didn't give U.S. troops the chance to complete the mission for which they'd volunteered. Under his leadership, we didn't close off the backside mountain exit or maintain the initiative, and these failures allowed al Qaeda to disperse, making the job tougher today. We need to learn again what happens when you hold back your troops.

The war on terrorism is different than any war in history. Intelligence is our most important weapon, but it is also our greatest vulnerability. It is now common knowledge that crucial intercepts from Sept. 10 weren't translated until two days later because of severe understaffing at U.S. intelligence agencies. Now, a year after the attacks, the Army still has 15,000 unfilled positions requiring proficiency in 62 languages. The State Department has 2,581 such positions. Information gatherers and intelligence officers are our new foot soldiers.

To staff this intelligence brigade, Americans should speak out against Vietnam-era bans that keep CIA and FBI recruiters off many campuses. To respond to the new threats, we must redouble our information-gathering efforts and make sure that proper officials heed critical information, so that when we talk about preventing another Sept. 11, we're dealing in reality, not rhetoric.

We also face critical choices in the make-up and structuring of our armed forces. Operations in Afghanistan, Kosovo, Bosnia, and the Persian Gulf have highlighted changes in military tactics and equipment needs. Outdated military equipment may please defense contractors, but it won't win tomorrow's battles. A modern military means smarter, more versatile equipment; better intelligence; advanced communications; long-range air power; and highly mobile ground forces. Predictably, the administration has talked about improvements but so far has failed to enact meaningful change. It is up to Democrats to understand and prepare for Fourth Generation warfare (fighting unconventional forces in unconventional ways) so that our nation can be better prepared to wage and win the new war.

We must also change the way we interact with the world. For people who have suggested that unilateralism is "just the American way," it's time to acknowledge that more and more, our allies are our eyes and ears around the globe and will play a critical role in our intelligence operations. We need partners. We should work on our public and private diplomacy more thoughtfully, sensitively, and intensely to develop both.

NEW WORLD, NEW WAR continues BLUEPRINT's examination of the war on terrorism, at home and abroad.

I support the administration's goal of a regime change in Iraq. Saddam Hussein is a renegade and outlaw who turned his back on the tough conditions of his surrender put in place by the United Nations in 1991. But the administration's rhetoric has far exceeded its plans or groundwork. In fact, its single-mindedness, secrecy, and high-blown phrases have alienated our allies and threatened to undermine the stability of the region. As both a soldier and a senator, I learned

Continued on page 32

Sen. John F. Kerry (D-Mass.) is a member of the Foreign Relations Committee.

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KERRY, *continued from page 31*

that when it comes to war, our goal must not just be regime change, but lasting peace. We have won the war in Afghanistan without securing the peace. This administration has failed to make its case on the international stage or to the American people for the rationale of starting the war or for the means of ending it. We cannot afford to put the security of our allies, the region, and ultimately ourselves at risk for the vague promises we have heard to date. We must do better.

American leadership means we must listen to the cultures and histories of other countries and work harder to build coalitions and partnerships. But for 20 months, the Bush administration has drifted from its chosen proactive message of disengagement to the reactive, mixed, and contradictory messages of reluctant engagement.

Draining the swamps of terrorists will require much greater involvement in the world. It must include significant investments in the education and human infrastructure of troubled countries. The globalization of the last decade proved that simple measures like buying books and teaching family planning can do much to expose, rebut, isolate, and defeat apostles of hate. These and other techniques are crucial to ensure that children are no longer brainwashed into becoming suicide bombers and that terrorists are denied the ideological swamplands in which they breed. Foreign aid must be increased and reformed to focus on education.

We must give countries in the Middle East a reason to want peace. In the next few years, if changes aren't made, the potential for violence in that region will only increase. If we fail to reach the children and the families wrecked by the violence of poverty and seclusion, the growing population of unemployed and unemployable kids will find in fanaticism a tragic answer to its problems. Americans' security depends on giving the people of the Middle East reason to believe in peace.

It's up to us to respond. Only the United States is in a position to lead the effort with other governments and private sector partners to beat this pandemic; only the United States has the resources to make a difference. An American president once said: "We cannot sit huddled within our own borders and avow ourselves merely an assemblage of well-to-do hucksters who care nothing for what happens beyond. We cannot be content to rot by inches in ignoble ease within our borders, taking no interest in what goes on beyond them, sunk in a scrambling commercialism, heedless of the higher life, the life of aspiration, of toil and risk." The Republican Party has in too many ways already disavowed the lessons of that Republican leader, Teddy Roosevelt. We can't afford to repeat its mistakes—not when national greatness hangs in the balance. It is time for this party to make clear once more: We will never surrender or submit—not on any issue, and not on any one question before this country. ◆

The Future of NATO

Three steps the alliance should take to refocus on the right threats.

by **Steven J. Nider**

Less than 24 hours after the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks in New York and Washington, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) invoked for the first time Article 5—the collective defense provision of the 1949 NATO Treaty. In spite of this unprecedented show of support from the allies, the United States initially turned down most offers of assistance in the Afghanistan campaign. The U.S. decision was a powerful demonstration of the widening gap between the fighting capabilities of the U.S. and European militaries and of how that gap is threatening NATO's future.

The European allies could offer little help in an expeditionary, high-tech military campaign. Because of their lack of precision-guided munitions, intelligence, surveillance, communications assets, and aircraft needed to operate over long distances, the United States was warranted in running the early stages of the operation with the involvement of British forces and a small amount of support from other allies. The United States also did not want its hands tied or its options restricted by NATO and its European allies.

The lessons of the Afghanistan campaign, the weak state of European defense spending, and the large increases planned for the U.S. defense budget have reinforced the perception in some Washington circles that European participation in combat operations alongside U.S. forces is unnecessary. Because of this, some military observers have begun to wonder whether NATO has any enduring role at all.

It would be premature to give up on the European allies, but unless NATO leaders on both sides of the Atlantic take the steps necessary to adapt the alliance to changing circumstances, and do it soon, its future may well be in jeopardy. As Ronald Asmus, deputy assistant secretary of state in the Clinton administration, has said, "We have the best alliance in the world to deal with the least threat, and we don't have an alliance to deal with the most likely threat."

The November NATO summit in Prague offers the North American and European allies an opportunity to adapt the alliance to the most important security challenges of the day. Just as previous developments—such as the end of the Cold War or the conflicts in the Balkans—

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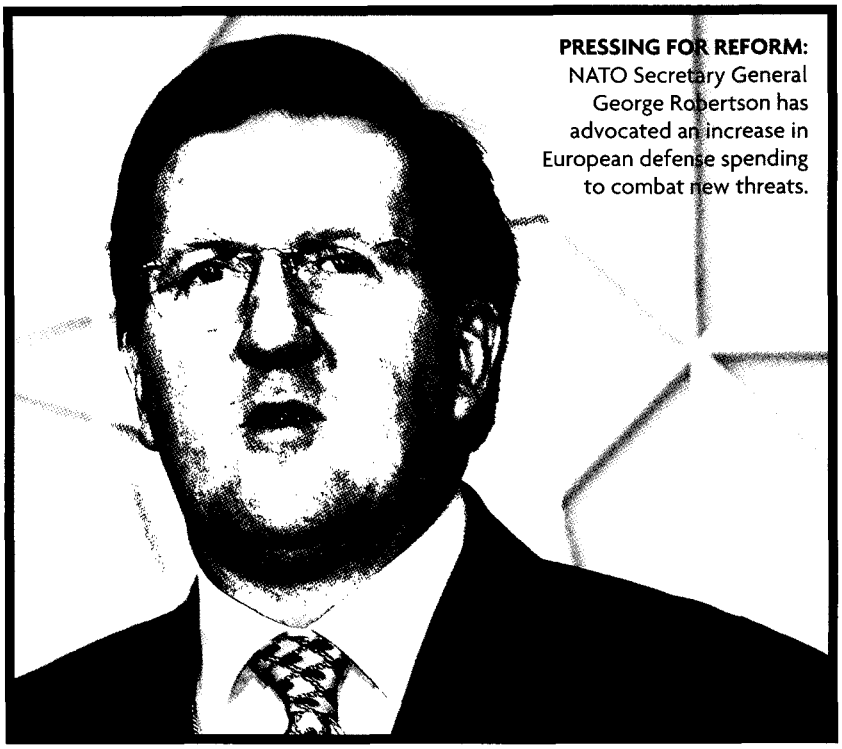

PRESSING FOR REFORM: NATO Secretary General George Robertson has advocated an increase in European defense spending to combat new threats.

—have forced the alliance to transform, Sept. 11 and the conflict that has followed require NATO leaders to think boldly and creatively about how to keep the alliance relevant.

What steps should NATO take at Prague? First, alliance members should clearly state that dealing with international terrorism and weapons of mass destruction are the central concern of NATO member states. As part of this new focus, and consistent with the alliance's founding purpose, NATO should also prepare to work outside of the transatlantic area to protect its members and their security interests. As NATO Secretary General George Robertson has stated, NATO "must change once more to deal with the threats of a new century. Threats that cannot be measured in fleets of tanks, warships, or combat aircraft. Threats no longer mounted by governments. And threats that come with little or no warning."

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Terrorism cannot be defeated by military means alone, but the military has a vital role. NATO allies can and should share intelligence information; develop civil defense and consequence management planning; and better coordinate various member state special forces, whose role in the anti-terrorism campaign will be critical.

Second, European NATO member states must commit to increasing their defense budgets and making smarter investments in order to improve their military capabilities for missions against the new threats. Today's European militaries, with 2.4 million active-duty troops and $150 billion in defense spending, are still geared toward deterring an attack from the Soviet Union and lack the capacity to fight where the new threats reside. In addition, they are in danger of falling further behind the U.S. military as it transforms itself with new technologies and operational doctrines.

Convincing European governments to spend more on defense will be a tough sell. With tight budget ceilings regulating their common currency, it is easier for them to gain political support for spending on health care or education. Since 1986, defense spending as a proportion of GDP has fallen from 5.3 percent to 2.5 percent in Britain, from 3.2 percent to 1.5 percent in Germany, and from 3.9 percent to 2.7 percent in France. The $48 billion increase in the Pentagon budget that Congress approved this year is more than the combined defense budget of 12 of the 19 NATO allies.

The United States must also work to close the capabilities gap before Washington is faced with a choice: unilateral action or no action at all because the forces are not able to operate together. "The growing capabilities gap between the United States and Europe is the most serious long-term problem facing NATO and must be addressed," Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs Marc Grossman said in February testimony. "Unless the disparity is substantially narrowed, NATO will be increasingly less able to play its part in countering the threats that now face us."

Finally, NATO should continue enlarging to develop strong allies capable of contributing to common goals and of consolidating the integration of Central and Eastern Europe. When the alliance holds its summit in November, it hopes seven countries—Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovenia, Slovakia, Romania, and Bulgaria—will be ready to join. Which candidates are accepted at Prague will depend, in part, on whether they have successfully maintained their political, economic, and military reform processes leading up to the summit. But at a minimum, NATO should take in all those candidates that are now stable democracies committed to the values of other NATO members.

The upcoming NATO Prague summit offers an opportunity for launching a new era of NATO reform. Pursuing this important agenda will transform its organization and practices to prepare for the challenges ahead. The new threats make this transformation vital, for without change, NATO will erode into a relic of the past. ◆

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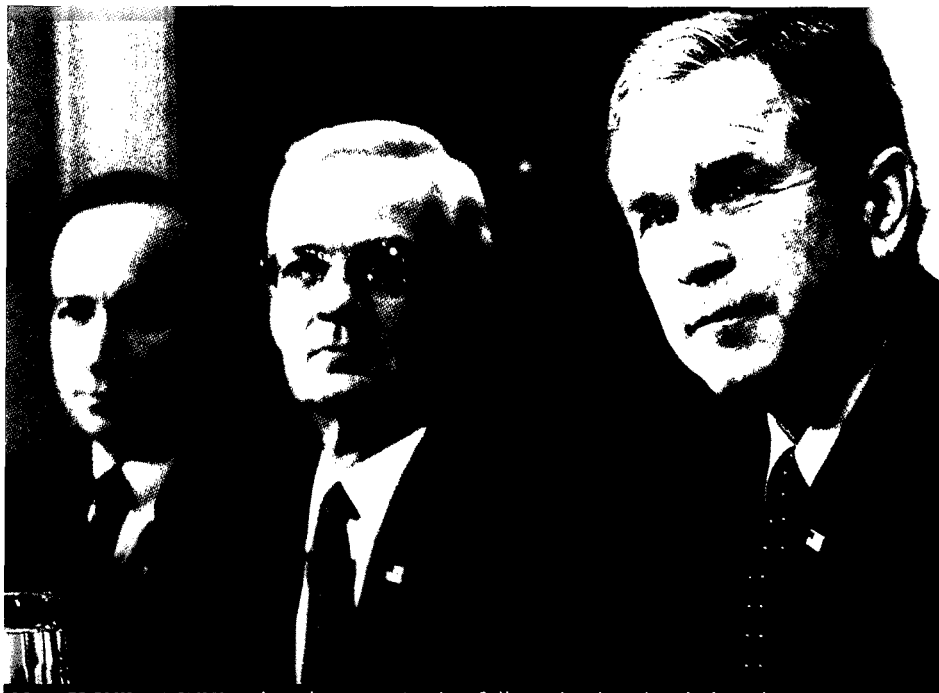
The buck stops where?

The Clinton administration shifted policies to strengthen the economy. The Bush administration seems interested only in shifting blame.

by **Gene Sperling**



LEADERSHIP VACUUM: The administration has followed rather than led on the economy, undermining confidence. Here, President Bush with Treasury Secretary Paul O'Neill and Office of Management and Budget Director Mitch Daniels (left).

Republicans have never been able to decide whether Bill Clinton's economic policies mattered or not. In 1993, they were sure that Clinton's policies would make a big difference—and we Democrats agreed with them. The difference, of course, was that we predicted his economic plan and deficit reduction efforts would lower long-term interest rates and strengthen investor confidence, while Republican leaders from Newt Gingrich to Dick Armey predicted the initiative would be a "job killer" and produce a recession.

When things got better and the economy was on the way to creating (not killing) 22 million jobs, Republicans had a sudden change of heart. While everyone from Alan Greenspan to Paul Volker to *Business Week* to Lehman Brothers was giving President Clinton's fiscal policies credit for reducing the deficit and strengthening the long-term investment climate, the Republicans did an about-face, claiming, in effect, that they had been wrong: Clinton's economic policies had no impact on the economy. Time after time, Republicans claimed that everyone else—including themselves and Ronald Reagan (or, as former Treasury Secretary Bob Rubin used to joke, Herbert Hoover)—had a decisive impact on the economy and the falling deficit, everyone except Bill Clinton. Indeed, a favorite Republican joke was to attribute all economic success to "Bill and Al"—and then, after a slight pause, explain, "Bill Gates and Al Greenspan."

Now that it turns out the economy was slowing at the end of 2000 and some corporate malfeasance began in the late 1990s, Republicans have again changed their minds. Never mind that President Clinton sought to limit tax deductibility on excessive CEO compensation, vetoed the Private Securities Litigation Reform Act because he felt it lacked protection for the little guy, and stuck by his SEC Chair Arthur Levitt as he sought to end the conflicts of interest between auditors and consultants. To hear Republicans tell it now, if a CFO was trying to treat leases as a capital expenditure, Bill Clinton must have been the proximate cause. Indeed, as the Associated Press reported in an Aug. 17 headline, the new Republican strategy is simply "Blame Clinton for All Economic Woes."

Well, on behalf of the Clinton economic team, let me say this: We'll take that deal. We will take the blame for whatever the Republicans say went wrong, as long as they are logical and acknowledge that President Clinton must also be responsible for the longest economic expansion, strongest fiscal situation, and greatest period of job growth in our history; a significant increase in productivity; and the lowest unemployment, inflation, and poverty in a generation.

Ultimately, this all-or-nothing approach to assigning blame and credit is not a useful way to judge presidential performance on the economy. More important is whether a president chooses policies that strengthen or weaken the economic

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fundamentals he inherits; whether his policies instill or undermine economic confidence; and whether his policies promote or inhibit private sector growth and job creation. Bill Clinton was handed the largest nominal deficits in history, a shaky, stop-and-start economy, and an unemployment rate over 7 percent (nearly 10 percent in California and more than 11 percent in West Virginia). There was negative economic growth in the first quarter of 1993. In the face of these economic challenges, he took tough action to cut the deficit, open new markets for trade, and invest in people—action that helped to strengthen the investment climate and lay a solid foundation for economic growth and poverty reduction.

The economy that President Bush inherited was slowing, but was also bolstered by strong productivity, very low unemployment, several years of across-the-board income growth, and the strongest fiscal situation ever inherited by an American president. What our economy needed in 2001 was the type of disciplined economic management that inspires confidence, a continued commitment to long-term fiscal discipline, and a strong, targeted effort to stimulate the economy to avoid a prolonged downturn. Unfortunately, the administration has so far been disappointing on all three counts.

On economic management, the White House has often lacked consistency, clarity, and credibility in its economic message. They have gone from Chicken Little to cheerleader—talking down the economy in December 2000 to generate support for a tax cut, then expressing excessive optimism when that became politically convenient. Top administration officials, including the president, have further eroded their credibility by offering ad hoc investment advice as if they were equity analysts speaking on Bloomberg TV or CNBC.

When investors and American families needed confidence on corporate reform, the president resorted to politics-as-usual speeches instead of treating the matter as a serious economic crisis

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Bush listens to Coolidge, McKinley, and Rove

The Bush economic team is marching in lockstep to the policies of the past—the very distant past.

► *by* **Robert D. Atkinson**

As Gene Sperling suggests, the Bush administration has shown a striking lack of leadership in the first real economic crisis of the 21st century. But there's a good, if indefensible, reason for its lassitude. This is an administration whose economic policy beacon is the early 20th century, when government was smaller, taxes and regulation were lower, heavy manufacturing and natural resource-based industries drove economic growth, and America had little stake in the global economy.

The experiences of the Bush economic team clearly hearken back to an older era. Many of his top advisers have backgrounds in natural resource industries that peaked in the mid-1900s, not the growing industries of the 21st century. Commerce Secretary Don Evans was CEO of Tom Brown Inc., an oil company; Treasury Secretary Paul O'Neill was CEO of Alcoa; and Vice President Dick Cheney was CEO of Halliburton, an oil services firm. The president made his millions at Harken Oil. In short, this is the most old-fashioned economic team in recent memory.

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But the more important problem is that the Bush team's economic ideology is a throwback to some of the most outmoded thinking of the last century. It's appropriate that top White House political adviser Karl Rove likes to draw parallels between George W. Bush and William McKinley as seminal Republican political figures. The McKinley administration ushered in an era, ending in the Great Depression, in which it was assumed, in the words of Harvard sociologist Daniel Bell, that "the market was a sufficient arbiter of the public weal; there were different utilities of individuals, and the scarcity of different goods would come to an equilibrium that harmonized the intensity of desire and the willingness to pay the asking price."

Even more so than the Reagan administration's supply-siders, the Bush team is inspired by the pre-New Deal governing philosophy—the wellspring of supply-side economics. Not surprisingly, Bush's two top economic advisers, National Economic Council head Larry Lindsey and Council of Economic Advisers director Glenn Hubbard, are strong supply-siders with conservative think tank roots.

Given this administration's retro outlook and ideology, it's no surprise that the first thing it did to get us back to the good ol' days was to propose a huge tax cut. Even though the administration gave lip service to a Keynesian stimulative rationale for the tax plan, Lindsey made clear the administration's real views: "The tax proposal was designed to be sound, incentive-oriented tax policy regardless of economic circumstances." In

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other words, no matter what the ailment, boom or bust, the medicine is the supply-side elixir of "Old Tax Cut."

Administration spokesmen have masked the extent to which Bush economic and fiscal policies are based on the supply-side doctrine. They rarely mention the term and instead justify their actions on other grounds. The president's public rationale for his specific 2001 tax cut package was to rebate "surplus" revenues to taxpayers. Later the administration suggested the tax cut was necessary to soften a recession, although its central thrust—the reduction in top-end income tax rates and the abolition of the estate tax—would not take full effect for years. Indeed, many Republicans privately suggest that the tax-cutting has no economic rationale at all but is simply a device to paralyze the federal government by denying it as much revenue as possible.

The administration's ideological approach to economic policy is not just reflected at home but is evident in its conduct of international economic affairs. The Bush team is deeply reluctant to intervene economically to help other nations, preferring to let markets work themselves out, even if the result is financial meltdown. After all, in 1998 Larry Lindsey testified that the International Monetary Fund is not "essential for our macroeconomic stability." Treasury Secretary Paul O'Neill appears to agree. In response to concerns about the economic crisis in Japan, O'Neill responded that there was no "O'Neill plan." He told the *Wall Street Journal* last October that if the Argentinean economy did collapse, it would not affect other nations. It is not surprising then that Paul O'Neill can be "constantly amazed that anyone cares what I do."

While trying to cut taxes at home and do nothing abroad, the administration has ignored the building blocks of the New Economy: science, technology, skills, and education. When asked what his policy was for stimulating broadband telecommunications, the president replied, "Well, a lot of that is going to be taking place through the market. ... I've laid out an economic growth plan, starting with tax relief." In a speech on the importance of scientific research, Larry Lindsey argued against any more public investment, preferring instead to rely on the tax cut to lead to growth. Indeed, the administration's lack of support for science led Newt Gingrich to call the Bush administration's mere $56 million boost for the National Science Foundation last year a "tragic mistake." While it gives lip service to training and education, this administration proposed eliminating and cutting a range of Clinton-era program to train workers, particularly in high-tech skills.

Instead of supporting the pillars of New Economy growth, the Bush administration has steered lavish subsidies to old-economy industries. The president has repeatedly caved in to protectionist pressures from old-economy industries such as steel, textile, and lumber, despite the potentially devastating impact that foreign retaliation could have on world markets for more successful and cutting-edge U.S. industries. He signed a farm bill that revives and expands subsidies for some of the largest agribusiness enterprises in the country, even though it deeply threatens multilateral trade-liberalizing negotiations that could benefit a wide range of U.S. economic sectors. And the administration's proposed energy legislation focuses on new subsidies for coal and oil production rather than cleaner and more efficient energy technologies, despite the continued danger of dependence on world markets for fossil fuels.

It's sometimes hard to imagine a national or international development that does not lead the administration to suggest either a tax cut or an industry subsidy. One of its trial balloons for

Back to the Future?

Given the Bush administration's backward focus, it is not surprising that its economic statements bear so much resemblance to statements by leading Republicans from the 1920s:

	"Under this republic the rewards of industry belong to those who earn them."
George W. Bush:	"It's your money."
	"The method of raising revenue ought not to impede the transaction of business; it ought to encourage it."
George W. Bush:	"The complexity of the tax code is a tremendous burden on small businesses."
	"I am opposed to extremely high rates, because they produce little or no revenue."
Larry Lindsey:	"Because rich people change their behavior in a high tax environment, higher rates don't necessarily yield substantial amounts of tax revenue."
	"I speak for administrative efficiency, for lightened tax burdens, for sound commercial practices, for adequate credit facilities, for sympathetic concern for all agricultural problems, for the omission of unnecessary interference of Government with business."
George W. Bush:	"I have a plan to [continue our prosperity]. Less regulation. Less litigation. Lower taxes."

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dealing with the recent meltdown in investor confidence in the stock market was to propose tax cuts for profits on new stock purchases.

In short, America needs an administration that makes it clear that it not only has a deep understanding of how the economy is evolving but is capable of translating that understanding into decisive action. What it gets is a president who can only incant "our economy is fundamentally strong" while standing in front of a backdrop plastered with "Strengthening Our Economy." But with a growing deficit placing more tax cuts off the table, an ideological straightjacket, and a relentless focus on the past, what else can this Bush administration do but cheerlead and pray that the economic damage won't be too bad come election time?

Overall, the Bush administration's approach to economic policy recalls not only William McKinley's confidence in the Industrial Age economy, but Warren Harding's coziness with short-term corporate interests and Calvin Coolidge's extremely limited ideas about government's role in providing for the common wealth. The president's performance in dealing with recent economic problems raises serious concerns that he also shares Herbert Hoover's stubborn unwillingness to adjust his policies to changing circumstances, even those inflicting tangible damage on U.S. businesses, investors, consumers, and workers.

We can only hope that the potential political fallout from a rudderless and backward-looking national economic strategy—illustrated most recently by his own father's experience—will lead the president to change advisers, abandon a stale ideology, and conduct a serious mid-course correction in his approach to the U.S. economy of the 21st century. New Democrats proved in the 1990s that there's a better way that works. ◆

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requiring a bipartisan partnership to address more systemic conflicts of interest. Fortunately, this economic leadership vacuum was filled by Democratic senators like Paul Sarbanes and Tom Daschle, who crafted a strong bipartisan bill that became the basis for serious legislation. President Bush, on the other hand, was widely perceived as having been dragged step-by-step into accepting and ultimately signing the bill. (To his credit, however, the president did—after excessive posturing—accept enough of the health care and job training proposals from pro-trade Democrats to win passage of presidential trade promotion authority.)

As to fiscal discipline, the International Monetary Fund has estimated that the full implications of the president's signature tax cut will drain $2.4 trillion from the budget over 10 years. With the dramatic deterioration in our long-term fiscal situation—in which Bush's tax cut is the largest culprit—our nation desperately needs the kind of politically difficult corrective action President Clinton took in 1993 and President George H. W. Bush and the Democratic Congress took in 1990. What is needed now is for President Bush to call for a grand bargain in which he offers to freeze tax cuts for the well-off in exchange for congressional Democrats and Republicans pulling back on the excesses of their initiatives. This type of sacrifice is easily justified by our need to increase savings for Social Security and Medicare, invest in our children, and save for the unknown cost of addressing future national security crises. Instead, President Bush has resorted to only symbolic veto threats to save a billion dollars here and there while calling for new and extended tax cuts that would drain trillions from the budget over the next two decades. While only two years ago under President Clinton both parties were competing to see who had stronger policies for debt reduction, President Bush's lack of fiscal leadership has now sent the message both home and abroad that the era of fiscal discipline is over.

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On the issue of fiscal stimulus, the administration also followed rather than led, and it didn't follow particularly well, either. Remarkably, President Bush's signature tax cut proposal did not include any cuts with an immediate stimulative effect. The administration's one initial stimulus effort—sending out tax rebate checks in 2001—was only added at the request of Democrats. Yet even this effort was far less effective than it could have been had the administration made the rebate refundable, as proposed by many Democrats. Because the administration refused to go along, 34 million lower income taxpayers were denied any tax cut, and an additional 17 million were denied the full benefit other Americans enjoyed. These were exactly the Americans most likely to spend the money and give the economy added juice. Even after Sept. 11, the administration resisted calls for targeted, stimulative tax cuts and strong unemployment and health benefits for those laid off, and instead fought for repeal of the corporate alternative minimum tax, accelerated income tax cuts for earners in high-income brackets, and longer-term investment incentives—cuts the independent Congressional Budget Office explicitly found to be the least effective and least efficient in providing the short-term stimulus the economy needed.

In the end, presidents certainly don't deserve all the credit or all the blame for everything that happens in the economy. But each inherits a certain set of fundamentals, and through action or inaction, either helps promote or discourage conditions conducive to private sector growth and job creation. President Clinton inherited large deficits, high unemployment, a stop-and-start economy, and weak productivity and income growth, and he took tough steps that most neutral observers acknowledge contributed to strengthening the fundamentals of the economy. The current administration has a long way to go before the same can be said of its record. ◆

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AFTER THE FALL: Enron executives prepare to appear before a Senate committee.

The progressive rap on corporate misconduct

Democrats should demand corporate responsibility but leave the populist rhetoric to Ralph Nader.

> *by* **Ed Kilgore**

One of the byproducts of the current wave of corporate misconduct is an intramural debate among Democrats about whether or not they should adopt a "populist" message that broadly tars the business sector as holding excessive power over the U.S. economy and public policy. Sometimes the debate is cast as a choice between moving left to energize the Democratic base and attract swing voters fearful of corporate power or hewing to the center-left path defined by Bill Clinton and the New Democrats during the 1990s.

Most of the talk about populism rattles about in a historical vacuum. Populism to some political consultants appears to be little more than a willingness to indulge in class warfare rhetoric or selective attacks on unpopular industries like pharmaceuticals, HMOs, or tobacco companies—in other words, a bit of poll-tested demagoguery.

But what, really, is populism? Is this a tradition that Democrats should feel comfortable rummaging through for rhetoric and message?

Historically, populism was a brief but intense political movement arising in the late 19th century. The movement was represented from 1890-1908 by an actual political party—the People's Party—based in the South and West, and it was motivated by agrarian hostility to the rise of industrial capitalism.

While populists were concerned about many of the same issues of public corruption and monopoly power that animated all sorts of reformers in that era, they were distinguished by their belief that capitalism and Jeffersonian democracy were inherently incompatible. Like the later progressives, they supported wage and workplace regulation, an income tax, and ballot reforms like direct elections. But unlike the progressives (and more like the Socialists, who later absorbed much of the populist voter base) they demanded government ownership of all transportation and communications facilities; currency inflation to redistribute income from creditors to debtors; radical restrictions on speculative financing and stock markets; and a strictly non-interventionist foreign policy.

The political style of the populists was by any definition extreme. They viewed both economic and political life as determined by class interests; thought of their opponents not simply as misguided but as corrupt and bought; and in sharp contrast to both progressives and Socialists, regarded the capitalism of their day not as a transitional stage toward a bright future, but as a calamity that had overthrown a superior agrarian civilization. Fundamentally reactionary in temperament, many populists fell prey to nativist and racist conspiracy theories. Tom Watson, the undisputed leader of the Southern populists (and three-time presidential candidate of the People's Party), was by turns a champion of white supremacy, anti-Catholicism, and anti-Semitism.

Putting the bigotry aside, the populist economic orientation should sound familiar to observers of contemporary politics. There is a national political figure who thinks reflexively in terms of

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class conflict; who invariably treats opponents as corrupt and bought; and who views corporations as a threat to an idyllic period in the past when small producers were king, when communities never had to worry about economic turmoil, and when Jeffersonian democracy prevailed. He, too, favors just about any kind of government intervention in the economy that would restrain business interests. His name is Ralph Nader.

To be sure, there are some politicians on the left wing of the Democratic Party on whom the populist mantle also sits quite comfortably. They are Democrats who never quite reconciled themselves to the Clinton-era New Democrat economic agenda: fiscal discipline, open markets, support for innovation and technological change, and sharply higher expectations for schools combined with opportunities for lifelong learning. For these Democrats, the corporate scandals offer a golden opportunity to successfully reposition the party in opposition to business interests, implicitly repudiating the economic policies and accomplishments of the 1990s. Just scan the pages of any journal of the political left these days and you will be greeted with a chorus of told-you-so denunciations of the '1990s boom and the technology-driven New Economy as massive frauds. Ironically, the left is being joined in this retroactive indictment by Republicans who will do just about anything to shift blame for today's corporate scandals to George W. Bush's hated predecessor in the White House.

If populism makes sense for Naderites and last-ditch opponents of Clinton-Gore economic policies on the left, it does not make much sense for the bulk of Democrats—new, old, or ideologically indifferent—who not only defend these policies but believe their restoration is the key to reviving long-term economic growth and 1990s-style advances in living standards for virtually every category of citizens. It's hard, if not impossible, to combine big doses of populist rhetoric with calls for a return to the decidedly unpopulist policies of the Clinton-Gore administration.

Fortunately, there's another heritage that offers Democrats a rhetoric, and an analysis, that fits their actual needs while not only preserving but demanding serious reform of corporate America along with a clear rejection of Republican policies: the tradition of progressivism.

Progressives of both the Democratic Wilsonian strain and the Republican Teddy Roosevelt strain faced the same abuses of corporate power that populists deplored. But the progressives adopted a crucially different approach aimed at restoring vibrant competitive markets against the corrupting and anti-competitive demands of power-seeking monopolies and other powerful interests that were using government for private gain. Progressives believed a well-regulated market economy could produce rising standards of living for all Americans. They viewed trade, technological progress, and entrepreneurship as engines for greater national wealth and for accelerated social equality and upward mobility.

"Progressives believed a well-regulated market economy could produce rising standards of living for all Americans."

Progressives were outraged by the corporate wire-pulling of their day precisely because they represented betrayals of free enterprise: efforts to accumulate wealth through privilege and political influence rather than performance; to avoid competition through restraints on trade; and to use their artificial market power not to launch productive ventures but to run up private fortunes while shirking their duties to workers and investors.

Progressivism, not populism, is the logical heritage for Democrats to invoke today. Progressive rhetoric enables Democrats to criticize the Bush administration and the GOP generally for abandoning their own free enterprise principles. Progressives can offer the most effective indictment of the Republicans: their willingness to act as boardroom valets for corporate leaders seeking government privileges and relief from competition and proper public responsibilities, instead of as neutral arbiters of a fair and open marketplace in which government has an independent and active role in making economic growth possible. Just as important, the progressive approach, based on restoring true pro-growth policies, does not involve the implicit populist repudiation of the successful Democratic economic policies of the Clinton-Gore administration.

Some consultants may say there's nothing wrong with a little populist business-bashing to give campaigns color and give the opposition hell. But for the most part, it's a dangerous and unnecessary distraction from a progressive Democratic message that is consistent with the values, record, and future aspirations to national leadership of today's Democrats. They should leave populism to the true populists like Ralph Nader, who should in turn be left to their fever swamps on the margins of American politics. In the best spirit of progressivism, Democrats should demand a vibrant, open, competitive system of free enterprise and tough action against those who betray it. And they should do this while promoting a broad agenda for prosperity and higher living standards based on the simple principle of "Equal Opportunity For All—Special Privileges For None."◆

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Stop the revolving door

Accountability for results helped police reduce crime. It's time to try it in corrections as well.

by **Mark A. R. Kleiman**

No matter how much we pat ourselves on the back about the recent declines in U.S. crime rates, the fact remains that crime is about three times as prevalent in America today as it was as recently as 1960. Even now, our homicide rate remains at about five times the level of that in the rest of the developed world.

The consequences of high crime rates go far beyond the numbers. Much of America's social geography is dictated by the desire to avoid victimization. What else could explain the coexistence of high housing prices and residential abandonment in the same metropolitan areas? Everyone knows that poverty leads to crime; less attention is paid to the ways that crime leads to poverty by driving jobs and services away from the places poor people live.

Given how much nonsense office-seekers are forced to talk when they discuss crime, its declining salience as a political issue is a welcome development. But controlling crime remains a central challenge for American society; we continue to face the threat that an upsurge in crime (such as the one the United States suffered in the 1960s or the one Western Europe has been suffering recently) will give anti-progressive political forces another great political opportunity.

So what is to be done? Arguments about crime control tend to focus on how to change the behavior of criminals. In some ways, that's the easy part; criminals respond when their behavior has immediate and predictable consequences. The hard part is changing the behavior of officials to make those things happen. Reducing the crime rate is more a public management problem than a criminology problem. And one key to management success, as we're learning from other areas of public policy, is performance accountability.

Nowhere has the accountability principle been more decisively demonstrated than in New York City's declining crime rates. The crime drop had many causes, both inside and outside the police department. But the one that stands out was the bold announcement by Police Commissioner Bill Bratton that he was willing to be held *quantitatively* accountable for crime reduction. Putting his own reputation on the line—and betting it on measurable results rather than on a laundry list of specific policies or organizational changes—enabled Bratton to hold his subordinates similarly accountable. Faced with the pressure to perform and to perform in the foreseeable future rather than in the sweet by-and-by, the New York Police Department found itself capable of astonishing accomplishments. The rate of murders went down by three-quarters and is staying down; property crime rates kept pace.

For some reason, no one seems to have thought of extending this accountability revolution to corrections agencies. Yet holding corrections officials accountable for recidivism among their probationers, parolees, and prison alumni is more obviously justified than holding the police responsible for the overall crime rate. Many things influence the crime rate in a city beyond the effectiveness of its police department. But if arrests for serious new crimes are much less frequent among probationers in one probation office than among similar probationers in another office, or if the graduates of one medium-security prison are much more likely to be back inside within six months than the graduates of another, then the worse-performing institution might have something to learn from the better-performing institution. Since most crime, especially serious violent crime, is committed by repeat offenders, focusing on the offenders whose names we know needs to be central to any serious crime control strategy.

Current performance wouldn't be hard to improve on. In most states, an offender leaving prison has a worse-than-even chance of staying out for three years, and there's no evidence that routine probation supervision has any crime-control benefit whatsoever. Some specific programs are known to work. Frequent drug tests for probationers and parolees, with immediate and predictable, but not severe, sanctions for every incident of drug use, can reduce hard-drug consumption, a strong predictor of recidivism. In-prison literacy programs can improve employability, and getting a job is a strong correlate of going straight.

Part of the reason such commonsense approaches aren't widely adopted is that the whole project of turning offenders' lives around—inducing them to live as citizens rather than predators—was tainted by its association with a kind-hearted but muddle-headed version of penology. When crime was low, some influential prison officials and academics tried to reinvent prisons and probation and parole agencies as primarily service institutions. The announced goal—rehabilitation—became entangled with what turned out to be a fundamentally wrong idea of how to achieve it, which might be summed up as "be nice to criminals and criminals will be nice to you."

Over the past 35 years, a political sea change, driven by rising crime, made a hard line toward offenders the only publicly acceptable attitude. Naturally, but unfortunately, this led to the virtual abandonment of the idea that rehabilitation ought to be a central focus of prison administration. Somehow, giving up the idea of being nice to criminals came to imply giving up any intention of making

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them other than criminal. To talk of rehabilitation now marks a politician or corrections official as an unrealistic, soft-on-crime bleeding heart.

The adversarial nature of the courtroom process fosters the illusion that criminal justice is a zero-sum game. In fact, since both crime and punishment are expensive, offenders and the rest of us have a mutual interest in offenders' turning from crime to honest work. In particular, those who portray themselves politically as advocates for the victims of crime ought to be more concerned than they seem to be with the fact that unrehabilitated criminals are future threats. Yet in the current political climate, rehabilitation, in the hardheaded sense of reducing future criminality, plays virtually no role in the design, execution, or evaluation of corrections programs.

At the same time, imprisonment has exploded. We now have about 2 million people behind bars, about four times the incarceration rate of a generation ago, a level unprecedented in American history and unmatched in the developed world. Poor urban communities are being hit with a flood of prison returnees, and that flood is beginning to show up in rising crime rates, but no one is turning to the wardens and demanding that they become part of the solution.

Perhaps surprisingly, the private prison industry has utterly failed to demonstrate either cost savings or reduced recidivism rates, other than by selecting the least-cost, least-likely-to-repeat offenders. Recidivism ought to be an easy case for incentive contracting, but that isn't the way private-prison contracts are drawn. And for some reason nonprofit groups have almost no participation in adult institutional corrections, though they play very important roles in dealing with juvenile offenders and in providing some post-release programming. A little not-for-profit competition based on recidivism rates might help jump-start the interest of the public systems in installing one-way exits instead of revolving doors.

Of course, any contracting-out approach confronts its own challenges: building accountability into the contracts and (even harder) getting that accountability enforced in the face of the political muscle that contractors, whether for-profit or not-for-profit, virtually always wield.

But whatever we do about prison privatization, the first step in reforming corrections is measuring the crime control performance of the existing corrections agencies.

The case for accountability doesn't rest on any specific theory of what would bring about rehabilitation. It rests on two basic propositions: that recidivism isn't completely insensitive to the way our corrections agencies conduct themselves, and that the people who work in those agencies and run them have the skill and ingenuity to make better things happen, given the appropriate authority and the appropriate incentives. Being accountable for next month's numbers concentrates the organizational mind wonderfully; it can, at best, create a sort of every-cat-is-good-as-long-as-it-catches-mice pragmatism. Real accountability can make even ideas "not invented here" seem worth trying once.

> We now have about 2 million people behind bars, about four times the incarceration rate of a generation ago, a level unprecedented in American history.

Formally, the problem is similar to the problem of bringing accountability to public education. Consider the parallels:

Both the tasks are important and both are done unevenly and less than optimally.

In each case, it's not hard to figure out some key things we ought to be measuring: reading ability in the schools and crimes committed by offenders in the corrections case.

In neither case are those easy-to-measure things the only aspects of performance worth worrying about (we should consider curiosity among students, for example, or prisoner-on-prisoner assault, or the employment rate among probationers), and therefore both systems require multiple measures of process and outcome to avoid creating perverse incentives for managers (for example, to drop art and music classes from schools or to ignore infectious disease and other health issues in correctional settings).

Since both students and offenders differ enormously among themselves and across institutions, any reasonable accountability system in either domain needs to adjust for the client mix or we just wind up punishing the institutions that get stuck with the hard cases.

Random variation makes it both essential and hard to develop clever statistical measures to make sure we're not rewarding and punishing "noise" in the test scores or the crime rates.

There's a tension between the need for adequate sample sizes to deal with the "noise" problem and the desirability of moving accountability down to the lowest practicable level of the organization. The more we can hold individual teachers or probation officers accountable for results, the better; but the measurement problems get harder as the numbers of cases get smaller.

Dukenfield's Law ("Anything worth winning is worth cheating for") makes it necessary to guard against a variety of ways to game the scoring system.

Accountability is no panacea. Probation departments, in particular, are so badly starved for both resources and authority that dramatic improvements can't really be expected without changes in budgets and laws. But right now the link between probation budgets and crime rates hasn't been established. In the absence of outcome measures that elected leaders care about, making the political case for the necessary changes will remain virtually impossible. Mayors must learn to ask, and probation commissioners must be able to answer the question, "How much will it cost me to get the re-arrest rate down by 10 percent, and what's that going to do for the overall crime rate?" When they can do that, the battle won't be won, but at least we'll be ready to start fighting it. ◆

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Don't leave education behind

The war on terrorism isn't the only place President Bush is squandering an early triumph. He's about to do the same on education. Unless he steps up the pace of reform, his party—and more important, the nation's schoolchildren—may have little to show for his efforts.

The No Child Left Behind Act is the president's one genuine bipartisan triumph to date, and it may well end up the only one of his entire term. Whether or not the act lives up its billing, it was a landmark political achievement: For the first time, Republicans in Washington embraced what Bill Clinton and governors in both parties had long advocated—a nationwide effort to hold schools accountable for results.

The law gives Bush an extraordinary opportunity to launch a decade of reform, but so far, the administration seems to be wasting it. Weeks after signing a bill he had promised Congress to fund, the president submitted an anemic budget with the smallest increase for education in seven years. States and cities begin this new era of reform under their worst fiscal cloud in a decade, yet the administration's education budget barely keeps pace with inflation.

Money isn't the only problem. Without skillful leadership, the new law threatens to exacerbate the two greatest obstacles to its own success: a growing parental backlash against standardized testing and a dire shortage of qualified teachers to help students meet higher expectations. Yet the administration has done little to ensure that the increase in testing drives a corresponding increase in the quality of tests. And the president seems content to jawbone the issue of improving teacher quality rather than seriously addressing it with a nationwide effort to help districts afford good teachers and replace bad ones.

After staking so much of his presidency on making progress on education, Bush ought to be doing everything in his power to help reform succeed. Instead, the administration and its congressional allies have forgotten the painful lessons we taught them in the 1990s and gone back to doing what made Republicans political outcasts on the issue: pandering to the right wing on vouchers and dragging their feet about investing in education.

The president studiously dodged the v-word as a candidate. Now he calls the Supreme Court voucher decision the biggest civil rights victory since *Brown v. Board of Education*. In the budget battle this fall, Bush is rushing toward the same cliff Newt Gingrich and House Republicans instinctively returned to every October—trying to convince the American people that less is more when it comes to education spending. Here's one safe election-year prediction: The Republicans will blink first yet again.

Conservatives are right that money won't solve every problem and that some minority parents understandably support vouchers. But if the president really believes in the new law he just signed, he should see that those conservative shibboleths are yesterday's battles. For years, Republicans have preached the dangers of more spending without accountability. Now that accountability is the law of the land, the administration should stop penny-pinching and start competing with Democrats to provide the funds to make reform work.

The same goes for vouchers. The one place the new law is sure to produce gains is in the worst schools, so long as the administration has the nerve to enforce it. The serious focus on turning around low-performing schools, which began during the Clinton administration and in states like North Carolina and Texas, is based on market logic conservatives will be hard pressed to refute: Once failing schools must be turned around or shut down, the number of those schools will drop, and the urgency of the voucher movement will decline with it.

If Republicans and the administration had more faith in the reforms they just adopted, they would be leading the fight for more funding and dragging their feet on vouchers, not the other way around. Without sufficient resources, too many schools and too many children will still fail, and the cause of reform will be set back. Local voucher programs divert public resources from reform and, ironically, divert students to the only schools exempt from the new accountability regime.

In the nine months since the president signed the education law, Republicans have bragged about how much they have closed the gap—not the achievement gap, but the gap in their party's poll ratings on education. The new education law should be the beginning of reform, not the end. With the economy flagging, the war in limbo, and his domestic agenda all but dead, President Bush can't seem to decide which of his father's mistakes not to make next. The lesson is the same on each: Rest on your laurels, and sooner or later you may have no laurels on which to rest. ●

Bruce Reed is president of the Democratic Leadership Council and was President Clinton's domestic policy adviser.

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Politics at the margins

by **Alan Wolfe** || Now that George W. Bush is president, insisting on the appointment of conservative judges and responding defensively to corporate abuses, many political commentators are thinking back to the 2000 campaign of Ralph Nader. Why did this man, once viewed as a liberal, seem so unconcerned about the prospects of a Republican presidency? Does he have any doubts? Will he run again? Is he as determined to see the Republicans take back control of the Senate as he was to ensure their occupation of the White House?

SPOILING FOR A FIGHT: Third-Party Politics in America
by Micah L. Sifry • Routledge • 288 pp. • $27.50

Crashing the Party, Nader's account of his 2000 run, offers answers to all these questions. The man has no regrets. To the charge that his campaign enabled President Bush to try to stack the judiciary with conservatives, he replies, with odd logic, that some Democrats once voted to approve Clarence Thomas. Democrats and Republicans, he repeats over and over again, have no fundamental differences between them. Snide comments Nader makes about Sen. Paul Wellstone's support of Vice President Gore hint at the Green Party's unfathomable decision to campaign this fall against America's most liberal senator. If anything characterizes Nader's book, it is its lack of introspection. He was right. All his opponents were wrong. George Bush is not that bad a president. Democrats deserve to be punished. Therefore he, or someone much like him, will run again.

Two explanations can be offered for Nader's crusade. One he suggests. In this view, some people, Nader included, know the truth, which is that both of America's political parties have sold their souls to corporate interests. Nader pictures himself as the latest in a long line of American fighters for freedom, the heir to Thomas Paine and Frederick Douglass. Against his own lack of ego, he chose to run for president for entirely selfless reasons. His fight was democracy's fight. For, as Micah Sifry also points out in *Spoiling for a Fight*—his account of the Greens, the Reform Party, and the less well-known New Party—third parties renew democracy by bringing in outside voices and new ideas when the two-party system stagnates.

Buried in Nader's book, however, is another possible explanation of his campaign. Describing a visit to Florida, Nader recounts the questions he was asked by reporters and others interested in his campaign, including ones from "a ten- or eleven-year-old boy whose questions, predictably, were the most thoughtful of all." As this vignette makes clear, Nader is a believer, not in democracy, but in innocence. The younger you are, the less corrupt you must be, by which logic babies make the best citizens. Since babies do not vote, however, Nader will settle for the next best thing: the newly enfranchised. His campaign centered on college towns and received more votes from young voters than from anyone else. "It is always the young," Nader writes with typical certainty, "who can give the people and their collective judgments that 'new birth of freedom,' in Lincoln's words, who can constrain greed and power— those classical Molochs—by civil society's motivation and action."

If Nader and Sifry are any indication, two-party systems are not for everyone. By concentrating diverse coalitions with different interests and ideas into one party or the other, the two-party system demands a certain maturity on the part of citizens. They need to know what most adults come to realize: sometimes, unable to get everything you want right away, you have to settle for compromise and accommodation. And compromise and accommodation are what Nader hates. (Sifry is generally more moderate and reasonable). He thinks that people who know what he so casually calls the truth should have their way, right now. Anything short of that is corruption.

Nader, Sifry, and other advocates for third parties believe that the two parties constitute a powerful duopoly determined to prevent any challenges to their rule. That is why the parties, in their view, worked so hard to deny Nader his place in the 2000 debates and why they established rules in all the states that make it hard for third parties to mobilize themselves. Greater respect for the ironies and dilemmas of real politics, however, might have suggested to them reasons for questioning their assumptions.

One is that many of the symptoms they identify—reliance on big corpo-

Continued on page 45

Alan Wolfe is director of the Boisi Center for Religion and American Public Life at Boston College. He is writing a book about how religion is actually practiced in America.

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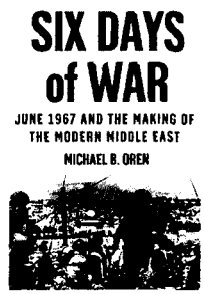
On the treadmill to nowhere

by **Fred Siegel** "O soldiers, 300,000 fighters of the People's Army are with you in your battle, and behind them, 100 million Arabs. ... Strike the enemy's settlements, turn them into dust, pave the Arab roads with the skulls of Jews." Thus spoke Syrian dictator Hafez al-Assad in 1967 as he rallied his troops for a war with Israel. Such overheated Arab rhetoric, argues Michael Oren in *Six Days of War: June 1967 and the Making of the Modern Middle East,* played a key role in ensuring conflict. Insecure, the Syrian government captured in a coup by the national socialist Ba'ath party, "tried to earn prestige by picking fights with Israel." Not to be outdone in the competition over who could be more anti-Israel, Egyptian dictator Gamal Abdel Nasser escalated his rhetoric. Shortly before the war and at a time when the United States was not yet a military backer of Israel, state-controlled Radio Cairo promised a broader war. "Millions of Arabs," it warned, "are preparing to blow up all of America's installations, and your entire existence, America."



SIX DAYS OF WAR: June 1967 and the Making of the Modern Middle East
by Michael B. Oren
• Oxford University Press • 512 pp. • $30.00

Arab leaders, writes Barry Rubin in *The Tragedy of the Middle East,* "manipulate the masses but then become to some degree prisoners of the very public opinion they have labored to produce." Looking back, "I now understood that the streets of Cairo reflected the concept that had seized the leadership," noted an Arab commentator, "namely that the destruction of Israel was a child's game that only required the hooking up of a few telephone lines at the commander's house and the writing of victory slogans."

Rubin, who is editor of *The Middle Eastern Review of International Affairs,* de-emphasizes a clash of civilizations between the Islamic world and the West in favor of an argument that places considerable blame on a style of political leadership. Time and again the Middle East gets tangled up in its overwrought anti-Israeli, anti-American rhetoric because that language, argues Rubin, allows a cynical and narrowly self-interested leadership to manipulate the masses without delivering a better life.

"Propaganda," he writes, "is a tool, a way of ensuring control at home and leverage over" other states in the region. The Arab leaders, he says, are "like coachmen who whip the horses to go faster but keep tight control of the reins."

But the rhetoric has a life of its own. Radicals, who blame the West for all the failings of the Arab and Islamic world, ask with some logic why the leadership is so restrained in actually fighting the enemy. "Why don't the hypocrites in power practice what they preach?" And so it is logical, Rubin explains, "that about every 10 or so years some alchemist blows up the Middle East in an experiment to prove that" delusional ideas are workable. Thus we got the Six Day War of 1967, the Iranian Revolution of 1979, the Gulf War of 1991, and most recently 9/11 and the war in Afghanistan.

Oren's masterful *Six Days of War* is the near-definitive account of one of these gaseous explosions. It is drawn from Israeli, American, Canadian, British, and Soviet archives; from interviews with veterans in Egypt, Jordan, and Syria; and from decisionmakers such as former U.S. Defense Secretary Robert McNamara. Written with the sure hand of a good storyteller, Oren's book takes the reader through the steps that became the proximate trigger for the war, such as Soviet cynicism in stirring up the Arabs as a way of gaining leverage in the Cold War. In the wake of Syrian-sponsored raids by Palestinians along Israel's northern border, the Soviets told Egypt that Israel had reacted by massing 10 to 12 divisions along the Syrian border as a prelude to toppling the regime. There was no such troop buildup. But Nasser, caught up in the intra-Arab game, sent Egyptian troops into Sinai, expelled United Nations peacekeeping forces, and, in an act of war, blockaded the Straits of Tiran to Israeli ships.

Egypt, unprepared for war, nonetheless expected an easy victory. "Soon we'll be able to take the initiative and rid ourselves of Israel once and for all," said Nasser's Egyptian rival, Field Marshal Abdel America, to the Palestinians. In a similar vein, Arab leaders from North Africa to the Arabian Peninsula echoed the Syrian call to annihilate Israel. Israeli leaders were both intimidated and unwilling to yield—a quandary that Prime Minister Levi Eshkol described as "Sampson the nerd." The pressure was so great that army chief of staff Yitzhak Rabin suffered a temporary breakdown. But when war came, Israel's pre-emptive strike quickly routed the Egyptians. Two days into the war, when Nasser still hadn't told his people of the disaster his army had suffered, he and King Hussein of Jordan agreed to blame their defeat on fictional British and American air strikes. It was what President Johnson called the "the big lie."

"Beyond the goal of eliminating the Egyptian threat and destroying Nasser's army," notes Oren, "no other stage of

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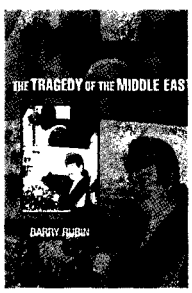
the conflict was planned or even contemplated." Jordan, for instance, was repeatedly urged to stay out of the war. The Israeli leadership was horrified at the thought of being stuck with Gaza and the West Bank. When Eshkol was told of Israeli advances produced by Arab miscalculations, he responded, "Have you already thought about how we can live with so many Arabs?" When the war ended Israel assumed that it would return Sinai, Gaza, and the Golan in return for Arab recognition. But the Arabs responded with the now famous three no's: no to recognition of Israel, no to peace, and no to negotiations.

The parallels to today's situation are striking. Then as now, Arab leaders spewing hatred have egged one another on until Israel has reoccupied the West Bank while Syrian-backed Hezbollah forces are trying to instigate an escalation along the northern border. "The men most dangerous for the Arabs themselves," writes Rubin, "were those leaders who actually believed and tried



THE TRAGEDY OF THE MIDDLE EAST
by Barry Rubin • Cambridge University Press • 296 pp. • $28.00

to implement their own slogans." He was referring specifically to Nasser and Saddam but he could just as easily have been speaking of Bashir Assad and Yasser Arafat.

The current situation in the Middle East, the treadmill on which the Arabs are running as the world passes them by was not created by the recent failure to achieve peace, concludes Rubin. Rather, it has been the threat that peace poses for the existing Arab regimes that ensures that the treadmill will keep running to nowhere. ◆

Fred Siegel is culture editor of BLUEPRINT.

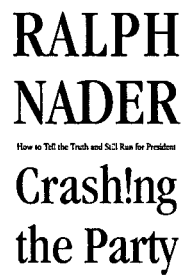
Wolfe, *continued from page 43*

rations for funding, heavy use of advertising on television, an inability to bring new kinds of voters under their banners—reflect the weakness, not the strength, of America's two major parties. Large numbers of Americans register as independents. Members of Congress have their own agendas that may, or may not, overlap with the leadership of their parties. The national committees of each party have little power and command few loyalties. Never once does either of those authors comment on the frustrations of leadership in a society in which political power is fractured among so many different brokers.

For Sifry, third parties historically raised the issues that established parties were unwilling to touch, such as the abolition of slavery or women's suffrage. But just because third parties were progressive in the past does not mean they will be today or in the future. American politics still needs reformers, but given the state of our party system, they are better off trying to revitalize parties that have become too weak than they are encouraging further proliferation. The problem is not introducing new ideas. It is getting the political system to organize itself around any set of ideas.

Proof of this proposition can be found among conservatives. The ideas of Grover Norquist are much further outside the mainstream than the ideas of Ralph Nader. But Norquist and other conservative activists did not seek to achieve their ideas through a third party; they knew all along that such a course would leave them impotent. Instead they worked within one of the two major parties, energizing its base while pushing the mainstream in their direction rather than the other way around. Like their ideas or not —I tend to hate them—one has to recognize their dedication. Unlike Nader, they had no interest in pouting and posturing. What they cared about was power.

If one believes, as I do, that most of Nader's ideas, if implemented, would harm America, we should be glad that his course has been so self-destructive. (Oddly, Nader never tells us precisely how badly the Green Party did in the 2002 campaign; he received 2.7 percent of the vote, less, in percentage terms, than the 6 percent showing of a Green Party candidate in New Mexico whose platform, as Sifry describes it, was to "parachute ten thousand therapists into the world's trouble spots, ban homework for schoolchildren,



CRASHING THE PARTY: How to Tell the Truth and Still Run for President
by Ralph Nader • St. Martin's Press • 352 pp. • $24.95

and fight dictatorships with thousands of camcorders"). While Nader did achieve his objective in 2002 of swinging the election to Bush—Florida's Green Party votes alone saw to that—otherwise his campaign demonstrated the worst of two paradoxical worlds. It convinced the Greens that they were a force. Yet it also proved their complete marginalization, for, as Sifry acknowledges, the Greens under Nader were far too leftist to be compared to the more successful ventures of Ross Perot or Jesse Ventura.

Rhetoric aside, the truth is that the 2000 election constituted a decisive rejection of third party options. (Patrick Buchanan, who took over Perot's Reform Party, also fared badly). For all the talk in these books of how America's two major parties are the same, Republicans and Democrats fought bitterly in 2000 because so much was at stake. Developments since then suggest that each party has a distinct vision for America, which means that the next campaign for president between them will be even more decisively fought than the last one. Politics is a rough and tumble business not meant for people who think of themselves as saints. Ralph Nader could make his best contribution to public service by staying home in 2004. ◆

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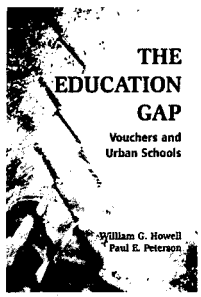
Putting vouchers to the test

by **Sara Mead** || Education researchers William Howell, Paul Peterson, Patrick Wolf, and David Campbell have the good luck to publish *The Education Gap*, a book of research on school vouchers, just when the Supreme Court's *Zelman vs. Simmons-Harris* decision has focused attention on that issue. The court's ruling that vouchers for religious schools do not violate the constitution on church-state grounds returned the contentious voucher debate to the core issue of how vouchers affect children's learning. For this reason alone, *The Education Gap* is of interest to policymakers, educators, and parents considering the voucher question. However, the authors' goal is not simply to quantify whether or not vouchers improve achievement, but to address this issue in the broader context of the vexing achievement gap between African-American and white children in public education. And it's the points they raise about that gap, the nature of inner-city public and private schools, and how parents approach school choice, rather than the issue of vouchers in itself, that make this book worth reading.



THE EDUCATION GAP: Vouchers and Urban Schools
by William G. Howell and Paul E. Peterson • Brookings Institution • 275 pp. • $28.95

The core of *The Education Gap* is the findings of a multi-year study of voucher programs in New York City; Dayton, Ohio; and Washington, D.C. These privately funded programs provided "scholarships" to cover a portion (from $1,400 to $2,000) of private school tuition for a small number of students in each city (from 680 in Dayton to 1,650 in New York).

Unlike much voucher "research" driven by ideological goals, *The Education Gap* is serious work. It's often difficult to measure whether vouchers improve achievement because students who seek them may have greater motivation, more supportive parents, or other qualities that make them more likely than non-voucher students to succeed. *The Education Gap* circumvents this problem by studying only students who applied for vouchers. Because there were more applicants than vouchers available, vouchers were assigned randomly by lottery, making voucher and non-voucher student groups comparable.

The authors provide descriptive information about the programs, children who applied, the public and private schools they attended, parent satisfaction, and how parents chose whether or not to use vouchers (a striking number of recipients ultimately did not). But most readers will focus on the achievement results: African-American children who used vouchers had significantly better achievement scores than their peers who did not, but there was no difference for white or Hispanic children.

Such findings are not unprecedented. Since the 1970s, researchers have, with surprising consistency, found better outcomes for African-American students in private, particularly Catholic, schools vs. public schools. For other students, however, the evidence is mixed at best. Since the achievement gap between African-American and white children is a persistent and vexing problem of American public education, understanding this phenomenon could lead to better education policy.

Unfortunately, *The Education Gap* can't produce a compelling explanation for why private schools raise achievement for African-American but not other students, and that's where it falls short. Instead, the authors offer a "differential theory of school choice," where vouchers are more likely to benefit black students because "African-American families send their children to the least desirable public schools because of more limited incomes and racial discrimination in the housing market." But this explanation is unsatisfying; while African-Americans overall have lower incomes and attend poorer schools than whites, the students in this study were not a representative sample of white or African-American children: *All* of them came from low-income families in inner cities with poor public schools.

Nor can the authors explain why vouchers did not improve achievement among Hispanics, who have comparable incomes and wealth to African-Americans and are also subject to discrimination. Indeed, one might expect the predominantly Catholic private schools involved to work best for Hispanic students, who are in many ways similar to the immigrant groups Catholic schools originally served. And, though private schools were less likely than public schools to provide services for non-English-speaking students, an analysis of only English-proficient Hispanic students also found no achievement gains from vouchers.

Children who moved from public to private schools experienced smaller classes, smaller schools, and fewer disciplinary problems as a result. African-American children benefited the most. But it's unclear whether the public schools African-American students came from were worse or the private schools to which they switched were better than those of white and Hispanic children. And differences in school quality don't fully explain the difference in achievement impacts for African-American vs. other children. Indeed, given the truly abominable state of many inner-city

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schools, it's surprising that even marginally better private schools didn't improve achievement for non-black voucher recipients.

Clearly, these issues are more complex than the rhetoric on both sides of the voucher debate implies. Neither those who hail vouchers as a silver bullet nor those who oppose them on achievement grounds are "right" because vouchers are not a coherent education reform strategy, merely a different way of financing and assigning students to existing schools. Broad pronouncements about vouchers are foolish because impact depends on the individual schools available and the choices parents make. Poor parents with vouchers still face limited educational choices. To be credible (and, perhaps, constitutional) voucher supporters must expand the supply of options. Practically speaking, for political and policy reasons, that means choice within the public sector. It's worth noting that many parents who won the voucher lottery ultimately declined vouchers, and where public charter schools were available, many opted instead for them.

Ultimately, this book can't answer the most important questions: What's different for African-American children in private schools, and can this difference be adapted to public schools, or is it inherent in private schools' private or religious natures? Do low-income African-American students need something different educationally, and if so, how can schools do them justice without resorting to divisive race-based practices? Because, except for their most fervent supporters, few argue that vouchers are a large-scale education reform; vouchers are tangential to these issues. Thus, while *The Education Gap* makes an important contribution by injecting some research into the often theoretical or purely emotional debate over the impact of school choice, it raises more questions than it answers. ◆

Sara Mead is a policy analyst with the Progressive Policy Institute's 21st Century Schools Project.

A FEAR OF THE FUTURE: Biomedical advances have launched a new culture war.

Resisting the brave new world

by **Robert D. Atkinson** | One of America's defining characteristics is that we embrace innovation as it emerges and address problems as they arise, unlike nations that wait until all possible effects of innovation have been considered before accepting change. This is a central reason for our economic dynamism. However, that tradition is being put at risk by the emergence of fundamentally new systems of biotechnology and nanotechnology (the manipulating of atoms and molecules in the range of a nanometer, one billionth of a meter); a small but vocal group of wary nay-sayers from both the right and the left are loudly cautioning us against going forward. The Bush administration's opposition to stem cell and cloning research is only the first salvo in what could be a defining political battle over the development and use of fundamentally new and beneficial technologies.

But opposition is not confined to extremists on the left and the right. Francis Fukuyama, acclaimed author of *The End of History and the Last Man*, has now written a new book warning of the consequences of genomics and biotechnology. Fukuyama's participation in the debate illustrates the extent to which opposition to new technologies has

Continued on page 48

Robert D. Atkinson is vice president of the Progressive Policy Institute and director of its Technology and New Economy Project.

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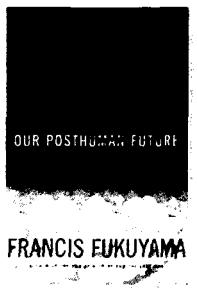
Atkinson, *continued from page 47*

become intellectually acceptable. In *Our Posthuman Future: Consequences of the Biotechnology Revolution,* Fukuyama revises his earlier thesis: We haven't reached the end of history because we haven't reached the end of science. He worries that "the most significant threat posed by contemporary biotechnology is the possibility that it will alter human nature and thereby move us into a 'posthuman' stage of history." Like Aldous Huxely's *Brave New World,* written at the beginning of the pharmaceutical age, Fukuyama paints a decidedly pessimistic view at the beginning of the biotech age. His book is filled with spurious arguments and worst-case scenarios for why we should fear the new technology.

Fukuyama fears that biotechnology, especially genomics, could once and for all put an end to the debate between nature and nurture with disastrous consequences for a democracy based on the notion that all men are created equal. Finding that factors such as sexuality, criminal behavior and intelligence have a genetic basis and might be related to race could have, he believes, significant political implications. Raising the specter of eugenics, he fears that "life sciences may give us news we would rather not hear." But from the time Galileo's discoveries made clear that the earth was not the center of the universe, science has given us news that many did not want to hear. While it's not clear that this will be news we don't want to hear, to say that we should prefer ignorance to enlightenment is to underestimate our capacity to adjust to new realities.

Fukuyama's second fear is that biotechnology will lead to the development of new neuropharmacological drugs that will be used for purposes other than addressing mental illness. While he admits that we already make distinctions between therapeutic and recreational drugs and regulate accordingly, that's not good enough. Comparing drugs like Prozac and Ritalin to Huxley's "soma," he asks, "Would Caesar or Napoleon have felt the need to conquer most of Europe if he had been able to pop a Prozac every now and then?" Yet, given the fact that since cave men first fermented fruit there have always been powerful drugs, it is absurd to think that drugs will ever put an end to human ambition.

Fukuyama is at his pessimistic best in discussing biotech's role in life extension. Biotechnology could significantly extend human life spans, while letting people remain physically and mentally active. But Fukuyama will have none of it, warning that further "life extension will wreak havoc with most age-graded hierarchies." Yet, Americans live 30 years longer than they did a century ago and we're doing okay. Fukuyama not only worries that society will crumble if people live yet another 30 years longer, but that if "retirement stretches on for 20 or 30 years with no apparent end, it may seem pointless." Maybe to him, but not to everyone. Fukuyama clearly underestimates people's ability to live enjoyable and productive lives outside of work.



OUR POSTHUMAN FUTURE
by Francis Fukuyama • Farrar Straus & Giroux • 272 pp. • $25.00

> We have established common-sense rules governing medical procedures; there is no reason we won't do so in the future.

Finally, while Fukuyama admits that genetic engineering has "obvious attractions for the treatment of inherited diseases, such as diabetes," he warns that we will someday be able to create "designer babies" leading to a posthuman future. Here, Fukuyama is on more solid ground. One could envision problems arising if some parents had access to procedures that could make their offspring smarter, taller, or better looking than others. But the situation is not as black and white as Fukuyama would have us believe; there may be cases where such enhancement is medically recommended. Moreover, he makes a slippery-slope argument that if it becomes possible to genetically engineer embryos not just for therapy but for enhancement, we will do it. But to date we have established common-sense rules governing medical procedures; there is no reason we won't do so in the future if it ever becomes possible to do such genetic engineering. Again, it's better to support the process of innovation and then address the issues that arise.

In contrast to Fukuyama's cautious approach, Douglas Mulhall says "let 'er rip" in *Our Molecular Future: How Nanotechnology, Robotics, Genetics, and Artificial Intelligence Will Transform Our World.* Mulhall lays out a visionary future in which scientists and engineers make a whole class of new materials and products from the atomic and molecular level up. Throughout history humans have had to be content to manipulate (cutting, melting, grinding) materials to make things. The development of new instruments like the electron tunneling microscope, now takes this process to a finer level, giving scientists and engineers the ability to create materials from the atomic level up. New materials like nanotubes, which are 100 times stronger than steel

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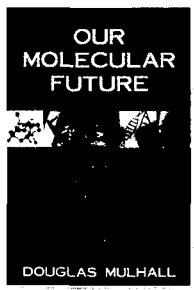
and one-fifth lighter, are likely to lead to fundamental new applications in energy, materials, transportation, and medicine. In fact, Mulhall boldly and perhaps prematurely endorses a future in which machines are smarter than humans, and in which humans have computer implants or biological engineering to enhance their own intelligence.

Jeremy Rifkin, a diehard opponent of new technology who is noted for a series of anti-modernist books, argues that "the Biotech era separates those who champion the intrinsic value of life from those who favor a purely utilitarian approach to life." Rifkin could have included nanotech and added "the intrinsic value of nature" since the major opponents of these new technologies from the left and the right have one thing in common: an ideological commitment that technology should not alter nature. For more than a century, the right's clarion call was to preserve liberty by restricting government. Increasingly, their preoccupation is to preserve "human nature" by regulating biotechnology. The left once celebrated technology that liberated workers from drudgery. Fearing control by a corporate elite, a host of left-wing interests increasingly wants to limit technologies like agricultural biotech and nanotech, even though they promise to significantly boost productivity. But as sociologist Daniel Bell states, "technology is the instrumental ordering of human experience within a logic of efficient means, and the direction of nature to use its powers for material gain." To argue otherwise is the naturalistic fallacy that gives moral value to that which is "natural."

But it's not just ideology that leads to opposition; it's also fear. Many fear the new and prefer the old. Shoshana Zuboff blithely argues in *In the Age of the Smart Machine* that "Technology makes the world a new place," as though that is an automatic disqualifier for progress. But in a world threatened by global warming, bioterrorist attacks, overpopulation, and depletion of natural resources, biotech and nanotech will also provide the wellsprings of needed solutions. In short, we cannot afford the luxury of wishing to stop the clock of technological progress.

But that doesn't deter those who would have government slow the process down, or even reverse it. Bill Joy, Sun Microsystems' chief scientist, recently wrote an essay warning of technology out of control: "We are being propelled into this new century with no plan, no control, no brakes. Have we already gone too far down the path to alter course? I don't believe so, but we aren't trying yet, and the last chance to assert control—the fail-safe point—is rapidly approaching."



OUR MOLECULAR FUTURE: How Nanotechnology, Robotics, Genetics and Artificial Intelligence Will Transform Our World
by Douglas Mulhall • Prometheus Books • 390 pp. • $28.00

> New Democrats need to actively and vigorously support the development and use of new technologies like biotechnology and nanotechnology.

At least one environmental group has begun to call for regulation of nanotechnology, encouraging the EPA and FDA, and similar bodies in Europe to regulate research. Fukuyama argues that now "is the time to move from thinking to acting, from recommending to legislating." As a member of President Bush's Bioethics Council he started the process when he switched his vote on the issue of therapeutic cloning, sparing Bush the embarrassment of having his handpicked council disagree with him. But for Fukuyama, this is just a prelude. He urges the creation of a new federal regulatory institution that would "have statutory authority over all research and development, and not just research that is federally funded."

In the absence of such regulation, many simply lapse into opposition—to the point where it becomes hard to distinguish between thoughtful critics and Luddite extremists. For example, Fukuyama writes that the posthuman future could be "the kind of soft tyranny envisioned in *Brave New World*, in which everyone is healthy and happy but has forgotten the meaning of hope, fear or struggle." This sounds strikingly like another commentator who stated that new technology will enable people to be "biologically or psychologically engineered either to remove their need for the power process or make them 'sublimate' their drive for power into some harmless hobby. These engineered human beings may be happy in such a society, but they will certainly not be free." That commentator was Ted Kaczynski, the infamous and now imprisoned Unabomber.

One doesn't have to be a libertarian to worry that the regulation envisioned by opponents of technological innovation would slow down needed scientific progress. That doesn't mean that we should blithely acquiesce to libertarians and those in the scientific and corporate communities who resist the notion that there are legitimate cases where society needs to intervene. It does mean that New Democrats need to actively and vigorously support the development and use of new technologies like biotechnology and nanotechnology. And if and when problems arise, they should judiciously and strategically intervene to mitigate them. ◆

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Let independents in

Even with control of both houses of Congress at stake, we're likely to see the eighth straight midterm election this fall in which less than 40 percent of eligible voters actually vote.

That's right. The last time more than four in 10 voters turned out in a congressional election in a non-presidential year was 1970—during Richard Nixon's first term as president.

Turnout has been higher in presidential elections, but still low. In 2000, just over half the eligible voters (51.3 percent of the voting age population) went to the polls. In 1996, less than half (49 percent) voted.

Whatever the reason, too many Americans have failed to exercise the most basic responsibility of citizenship: casting a ballot.

No single step will reverse voting trends overnight. But one step the two political parties can take now is to allow and even to encourage independents to vote in all primary elections. They ought to do it right now before the nominating process for the 2004 presidential election begins. In about one third of the states, independents cannot vote in presidential primaries, and in numerous others they have to jump through hoops to do so.

Allowing independents to vote in primaries would keep pace with three important trends in American politics today: the decline in voters' identification with both parties; the increased number of voters who call themselves moderates; and the decrease in competitive elections for Congress.

Consider these realities:

• More voters today identify themselves as independents than as Democrats or Republicans.

That's a radical change from a half-century ago. According to the National Election Studies at the University of Michigan, 50 years ago, three-quarters of all voters identified with political parties—47 percent with Democrats and 28 percent with Republicans. Just 23 percent were independent.

In 2000, according to that same study, just 58 percent of voters identified with the two parties—34 percent with Democrats and 24 percent with Republicans—and 40 percent said they were independent. Those numbers are almost identical to those in the DLC's late July poll, in which 33 percent identified themselves as Democrats, 26 percent as Republicans, and 38 percent as independent.

• During the past two decades, the electorate has become increasingly moderate. In 1980, when Ronald Reagan was elected, 40 percent of voters identified themselves as conservative, 24 percent as liberal, and just 36 percent as moderate. Today, fully half the voters identify themselves as moderate. Conservatives have dropped to 30 percent and liberals to 20 percent.

It's little wonder that more and more voters find themselves put off by the polarizing political rhetoric that characterizes the debate in Washington. The voters' desire for a more moderate tone to their politics was not lost on Bill Clinton, who in 1996 called for "progress over partisanship," or on George W. Bush in 2000, who called himself "a unifier, not a divider." Neither was it surprising that in the Georgia primary election in August, voters decisively defeated two of the most partisan, polarizing members of Congress, Republican Bob Barr and Democrat Cynthia McKinney. Georgia's open primary law allows any voter, including independents, to vote in either party's primary.

• As a result of gerrymandering in redistricting, fewer and fewer congressional seats are even competitive. In state after state, by bipartisan agreement, Democratic and Republican districts were solidified and marginal, swing districts were virtually eliminated. Analyst Charlie Cook rates only 39 of 435 congressional races as competitive. After redistricting a decade ago, he rated 121 contests as competitive. That means that for the next decade, most congressional elections are likely to be decided in primaries, not general elections.

All of these trends cry out for allowing and encouraging independents to vote in all primaries. That won't be a panacea for our low turnout problem. In Texas, for example, where independents can vote in primaries, just over 10 percent of eligible voters turned out for this year's gubernatorial primary. But at least it will mean that all voters will be fully enfranchised in our electoral process. Over the long haul, that can only have a positive impact on voter participation.

It is in the interest of the political parties, as well, to encourage independents to vote in their primaries. It will encourage candidates to reduce their polarizing rhetoric—that's the lesson both Bob Barr and Cynthia McKinney learned. And, given the decline in voter identification with both parties, neither party can win national elections without commanding decisive support from independent voters.

Opening all primaries to independents is a simple idea that can help reinvigorate our democracy and broaden the appeal of our political parties at a time when low voter turnout and declining interest in both parties suggest it's important to do both. ●

Al From is founder and CEO of the Democratic Leadership Council.

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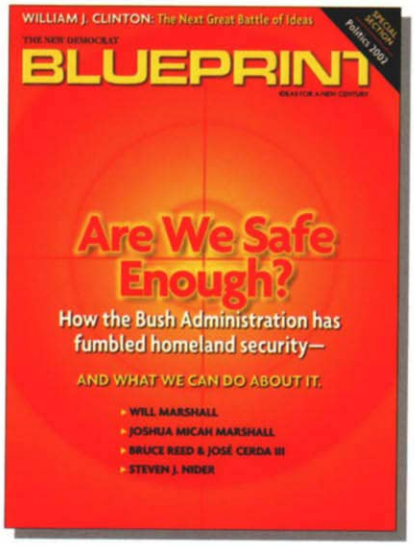
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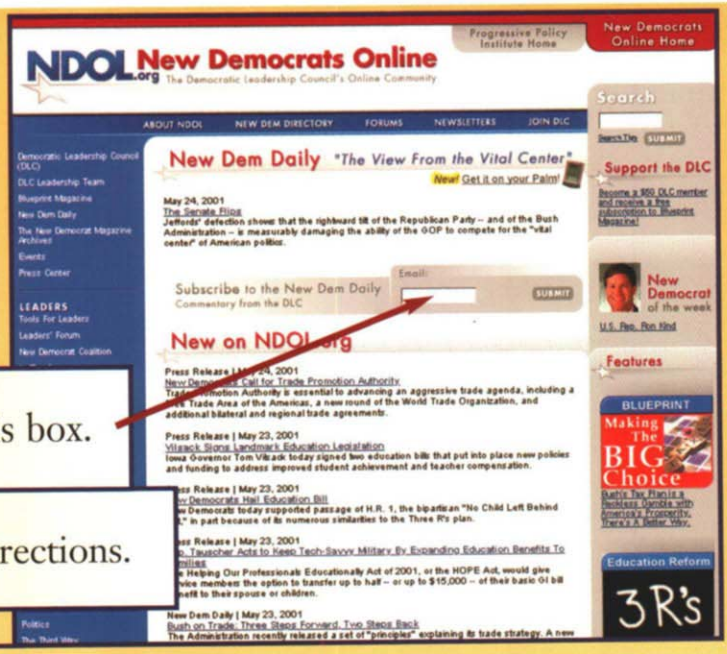

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